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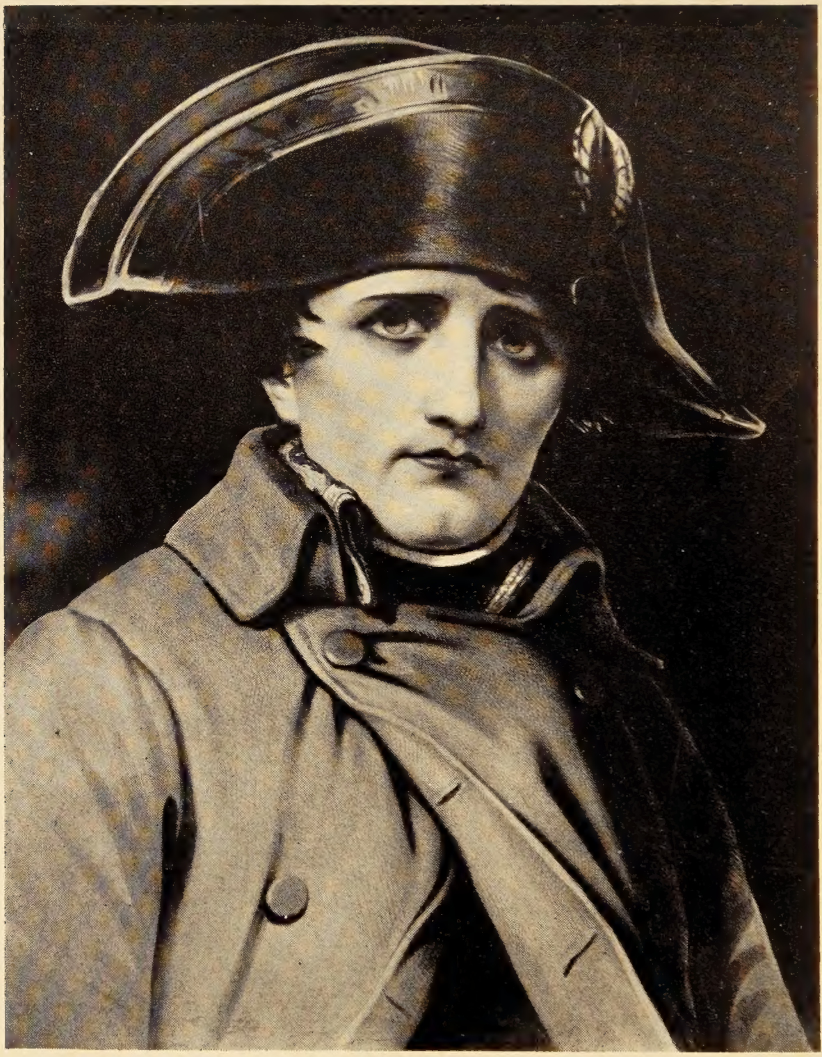

NAPOLEON, FIRST CONSUL

NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY

The Story of A Corsican Clan

By WALTER GEER

*

CORSICA–MADRID

1769–1809

X

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FOREWORD

JEAN-JACQUES Rousseau says in *Émile:* "Without altering a historical fact, but by extending or contracting the circumstances bearing upon it, how many aspects one can give it! The same object, placed at different points of view, will hardly seem the same; and yet nothing has changed except the eye of the spectator."

It is impossible to understand fully the drama of the life of Napoleon without taking into consideration two factors, practically ignored by historians, which had a decisive bearing upon his career: his physical heritage, and the influence of his family.

In his bulletins and correspondence, Napoleon always endeavored to convey the impression that he was constantly in excellent health. This, however, was far from being true, and his physical condition, during his later campaigns, as first pointed out by Lord Wolseley, was largely the cause of his failure.

The fame of Napoleon has so overshadowed that of his brothers and sisters that their influence on his career has generally been overlooked. Without disregarding the other cause, which was largely beyond his control, it may be said that the downfall of Napoleon was mainly due to the members of his family, whom he had raised so high, who by their shortcomings and their transgressions became the agents of his decline. Their acts were frequently beyond his control, without his authority, and contrary to his wishes; but they were so by virtue of the powers which he had delegated, of the system which he himself had established for the government of his Empire.

We propose to set forth in these pages the part for which the Family was responsible in the events which brought about the crumbling of the highest fortune that the world has ever seen upraised; in the downfall of the man the best endowed by nature, the best served by Destiny, that History has ever known.

In this drama of *Napoleon and His Family* there are over twenty persons who take the subordinate rôles, and occupy the stage beside the principal actor, but the character of Napoleon dominates the entire play. It is necessary to bring on the scene his father and mother, his uncle (Fesch), his brothers and sisters, with their respective consorts, as well as his adopted son (Eugène) and his wife; and to present many facts which derive their main interest from their bearing upon the career of the star performer.

This, then, is not a life of Napoleon: not a history of his campaigns: not a record of his civil administration — it is only the story of the Family, as it influenced his designs, his acts, and his destiny.

WALTER GEER

NEW YORK,
September, 1927.

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NAPOLEON
AND
HIS FAMILY

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

CHARLES, the father
LETITIA, " Madame Mère," the mother
JOSEPH, (King of Naples), King of Spain
JULIE CLARY, his wife
NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French
JOSEPHINE DE BEAUHARNAIS, his first wife
MARIE-LOUISE, his second wife
LUCIEN, Prince of Canino (in Italy)
CATHERINE BOYER, his first wife
MADAME JOUBERTHOU, his second wife
LOUIS, King of Holland
HORTENSE DE BEAUHARNAIS, his wife
JEROME, King of Westphalia
ELIZABETH PATTERSON, his first wife
CATHERINE OF WURTEMBERG, his second wife
ELISA, Grand-Duchess of Tuscany
PAULINE, Princesse Borghèse
CAROLINE, Queen of Naples
MURAT, King of Naples
EUGENE DE BEAUHARNAIS, Viceroy of Italy
AUGUSTA OF BAVARIA, his wife
CARDINAL FESCH, Grand-Almoner

NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY

THE STORY OF A CORSICAN CLAN

CHAPTER ONE

1769–1793

THE FAMILY IN CORSICA

The Bonaparte Ancestry — Emigration to Corsica — Napoleon's Parents — Births of Joseph and Napoleon — Doubts Regarding the Dates — The Bonaparte Mansion — Napoleon's Earlier Years — Brienne and the Military School — Death of Charles Bonaparte — The Autopsy — Napoleon Enters the Army — Congé in Corsica — Poverty of His Family — Joseph's Character — Napoleon's Visit to Paris — His Amorous Adventure — Stationed at Auxonne — Second Leave — Brings Louis to France — Promoted and Ordered to Valence — Third Congé — Death of Uncle Lucien — Napoleon Elected Officer of Corsican Volunteers — Second Visit to Paris — Sees Attacks on the Tuileries — Restored to Army as Captain — Accompanies Élisa to Corsica — The Madelena Fiasco — The Family Flees to France

IN HIS temperament, his instincts, his faculties, his imagination, his passions, his morals, Napoleon was so different from his countrymen and his contemporaries, writes Monsieur Taine, that he seemed cast in a different mould, and composed of another metal. "Manifestly, he was neither a Frenchman, nor a man of the eighteenth century: he belonged to another race and another age."[1]

Of the remote ancestors of Napoleon, we know little more than their names, and the official positions that they held. The Bonaparte family has been the subject of controversy from first to last, but careful research has dispelled the romances of many of the earlier writers, and connected the stock with a Florentine named William, who in the year 1261 took the name of *Buonaparte*,[2] which Napoleon later Gallicized by dropping the *u*. Napoleon never denied his Italian origin; and that he preferred *Bonaparte* to *Buonaparte* is a matter of no consequence. As Masson very justly remarks, " One might as well reproach him for not sounding the final *e* of his name."[3]

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[1] Taine, 1 *Le Régime moderne*, 5.

[2] Surnames as family names were practically unknown before the middle of the eleventh century, and their use was not general until two hundred years later.

William seems to have been involved in the unceasing strifes which rent the civic life of Florence, and when the Guelfs gained the ascendancy, he sought refuge in the Tuscan village of Sarzana, beyond the reach of the victorious faction. Here the family lived for nearly three centuries. As nearly as one can judge, they were in moderate circumstances, and their fortune was diminished rather than augmented in successive generations. They held various civil and military positions, but did not engage in business. They owned some estates, with cattle and vineyards; and town and country mansions, where they lived comfortably upon their rents, and the produce of their farms.[4]

In the year 1529, Francis Bonaparte,[5] for some unknown reason, migrated to Corsica, where the family was grafted on a tougher branch of the Italian race The Ramolinos, who were of similar origin to the Bonapartes, lived originally in Lombardy, whence they moved to Tuscany, and later to Genoa. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, they emigrated to Corsica, some fifty years before the arrival of the Bonapartes on the island. At Ajaccio, the two families lived side by side, and there were numerous intermarriages.

All of the Bonapartes showed, in an equal degree, the imprint, physical and moral, of the double atavism from which they came: in themselves, and in their descendants, they reproduced in a striking manner the same type. They all had the same turn of mind, the same bodily habits, the same temperaments, and the same maladies. They all had the same love of the water, the mania for baths, so uncommon at that period. None of them had the modern prudery regarding covering the body with clothing, and none of them felt any embarrassment in being seen absolutely nude. From some remote Greek ancestor, they seem to have inherited, with certain undeniable physical traits, a superior sense and culture of Beauty.[6]

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[3] Masson, *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse,* 3.

[4] *Ibid,* 7, 9.

[5] Browning (3, and note) states that this date is not correct, as his name appears on the list of the town-guard of Ajaccio for the year 1490.

In both the Bonapartes and the Ramolinos, we find strongly exhibited the same idea of the *clan*. Their life centred around the family. Laws were of little importance when they conflicted with the code of family honor. For the slightest infringement of this code, a *vendetta* was declared, which often dragged out its bloody course through several generations. The execution of the Duc d'Enghien by Napoleon in 1804 startled the Continent, but to the Corsicans it seemed only an autocratic version of the vendetta.[7]

Charles Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon, was born at Ajaccio the 29 March 1746.[8] At the age of fourteen he was left an orphan, under the guardianship of his uncle Lucien, the archdeacon of the Cathedral, a man of superior will and intelligence, who devoted himself to the task of bringing up the family.

On the 2 June 1764,[8] at the age of eighteen, Charles was married to Letitia (Letizia) Ramolino, the niece of a canon of the Cathedral, who was a friend of his uncle Lucien. Born on the 24 August 1750,[8] Letitia had not yet completed her fourteenth year. The Ramolino family, so far from being of common or bourgeois origin, as often stated, was connected with one of the most illustrious houses of Italy, that of the comtes de Collatto, who occupied almost a sovereign position in Lombardy prior to the fourteenth century.[9]

Napoleon's father was a handsome, courtly gentleman, of unusual culture and distinguished manners, but of a feeble and even frivolous character, too fond of pleasure to occupy himself with his family or his affairs.

His mother, on the other hand, was a very remarkable woman, and from her Napoleon derived most of his strongest qualities. She was full of courage, and followed her husband through woods and mountains during the last struggle for Corsican independence, just prior to Napoleon's birth. "Misfortunes, privations, fatigues," said Napoleon, "she bore all, braved all: she had the head of a man on the body of a woman." She was devoted to her children, but brought them up with severity. When she became Madame Mère, she was so parsimonious that it was ridiculous. She could never forget the straitened circumstances of her young widowhood, and was always apprehensive of the future. But this woman, from whom it was so difficult to extract an *écu,* after Waterloo placed her whole fortune at the disposal of the Emperor, to reëstablish his affairs.[10]

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[6] Masson, *Ibid,* 17, 21.

[7] *Cf.* 1 Rose, 3; 1 Masson, *Napoléon et sa famille,* 3.

[8] The official records of Ajaccio were destroyed during the Revolution, and there is some doubt regarding these dates.

[9] Masson, *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse,* 11–12.

Letitia lost her father, when she was only a child of five, and two years later her mother married a Captain Fesch, of Swiss origin, who was then an officer in the marine service of Genoa. By this second marriage she had one son, Joseph Fesch, who was to play an important rôle in the life of Napoleon. Born on the 3 January 1763, he was only nine years older than his celebrated nephew.

There was but little wealth in Corsica: the people were all poor, or in very moderate circumstances. Mlle. Ramolino, who was considered rich, brought her husband a dot of only 7000 francs of capital, represented by lands, and a share in a house and a vineyard. The Bonaparte family had a total capital of some 300,000 francs, and perhaps an income of 12,000, but Charles had only what was allowed him by his great-uncle, Lucien, who had entire charge of the family property.[11]

This uncle, almost from his youth, was a great sufferer from the gout, and at the age of thirty-two was partly paralyzed. From his bed, he conducted the affairs of the family. He was cared for with the greatest devotion by his nephew's wife, Letitia, one of whose finest traits was the manner in which she gave her sympathy always to those members of her family, who, by their own faults or by force of circumstances, were unfortunate.[12]

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[10] See *Mémorial,* 9 mai 1816, and *Mémoires* of Antommarchi, 13 novembre 1819.

[11] Masson, *Napoléon et sa famille,* 5–6.

[12] *Ibid,* 13.

During the course of nineteen years, from 1765 to 1784, twelve children were born to Charles and Letitia, of whom four died in infancy. Of the eight children who lived to maturity, the eldest, Joseph, was born the 7 January 1768, at Corte, where Letitia had accompanied her husband, who was an influential member of the National Council.

Following the treaty of the 15 May 1768, by which Genoa ceded Corsica to France, there was a sanguinary struggle between the Corsicans and the French, in which Charles took part. At first the natives were victorious, but they were finally overcome by the French, and on the 13 June 1769, the patriotic leader, Paoli, fled from the island, with over three hundred of his supporters who were the most compromised. The other patriots then made their submissions, and Charles and his wife received passports and safe-conducts to return to their homes. Here, at Ajaccio, on the 15 August 1769, Letitia brought into the world her son NAPOLEON.

This date of the birth of Napoleon has been contested, but upon the slightest of foundations. In a document entitled, *Epochs of my Life*,[13] in which Napoleon traces his itinerary from 1769 to 1788, three times over, he states that he was born on the 15 August 1769. Nevertheless, two authors have affirmed recently that Charles substituted the certificate of baptism of Joseph (the younger) for that of Napoleon (the elder) to enable Napoleon to enter the school at Brienne, after the required age.[14] But M. Masson, after a careful examination of all the authorities, seems to have settled the question definitely.[15]

While the name of Napoleon is rare, it was not new in the Bonaparte family. Napoleon's great-grandfather had named his three sons, Joseph, Napoleon, and Lucien, and Charles decided to follow this example. His first son (born in 1765 and died in 1768) was accordingly named Joseph, and Joseph, born in January 1768, at first was called Napoleon. Later, after the death of the eldest child, the name of Joseph was inserted before Napoleon in the register, while the child born in 1769 received the name of Napoleon, and never had any other. This may be one explanation of the confusion in the dates, and another is the fact that Napoleon, at the time of his marriage to Mme. de Beauharnais, in March 1796, in a spirit of gallantry, gave his age as twenty-eight instead of twenty-six, while Joséphine, who was born in 1763, did her part toward equalizing the difference in their ages by borrowing the record of her sister Françoise who was three years younger than herself.

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[13] See Appendix A.

[14] See 1 Jung, *Bonaparte et son temps*, 39 *et seq.*; and Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, 4, and 746 — Eng. trans. 1903.

[15] See Masson, *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse*, 15–18; also Browning, *Napoleon, the First Phase*, 29–30; and Cabanès, 28–30.

It is useless to search in Ajaccio to-day for the house and the room in which Napoleon was born. The Bonaparte mansion was wrecked, and partly burned, by the followers of Paoli in 1793, and rebuilt in its present form four years later. It is a four story, square stone house, located in a narrow street in the older part of the town, back of the Cathedral. Napoleon never saw the new house but once, when he passed a few days at Ajaccio on his return from Egypt, in October 1799. The new mansion is entirely different from the old one, both inside and out, and nothing is in the same state as at the time of Napoleon's birth. In 1805, the Emperor presented the house to a cousin of his mother, M. André Ramolino; and, after passing through several hands, it finally became the property of the late Empress Eugénie.[16]

Immediately after the birth of Napoleon, Charles departed for Pisa, where he was to take his degree of doctor of laws. At this same time he secured from the Archbishop of Pisa his patent of nobility. Under a count's coronet, the arms were *gules, two bends argent, between two estoiles of the second.*[17]

Owing to the absence of his father, and his own delicate health, Napoleon was not baptized until the 21 July 1771, the same day as his little sister Marie-Anne, the second to receive

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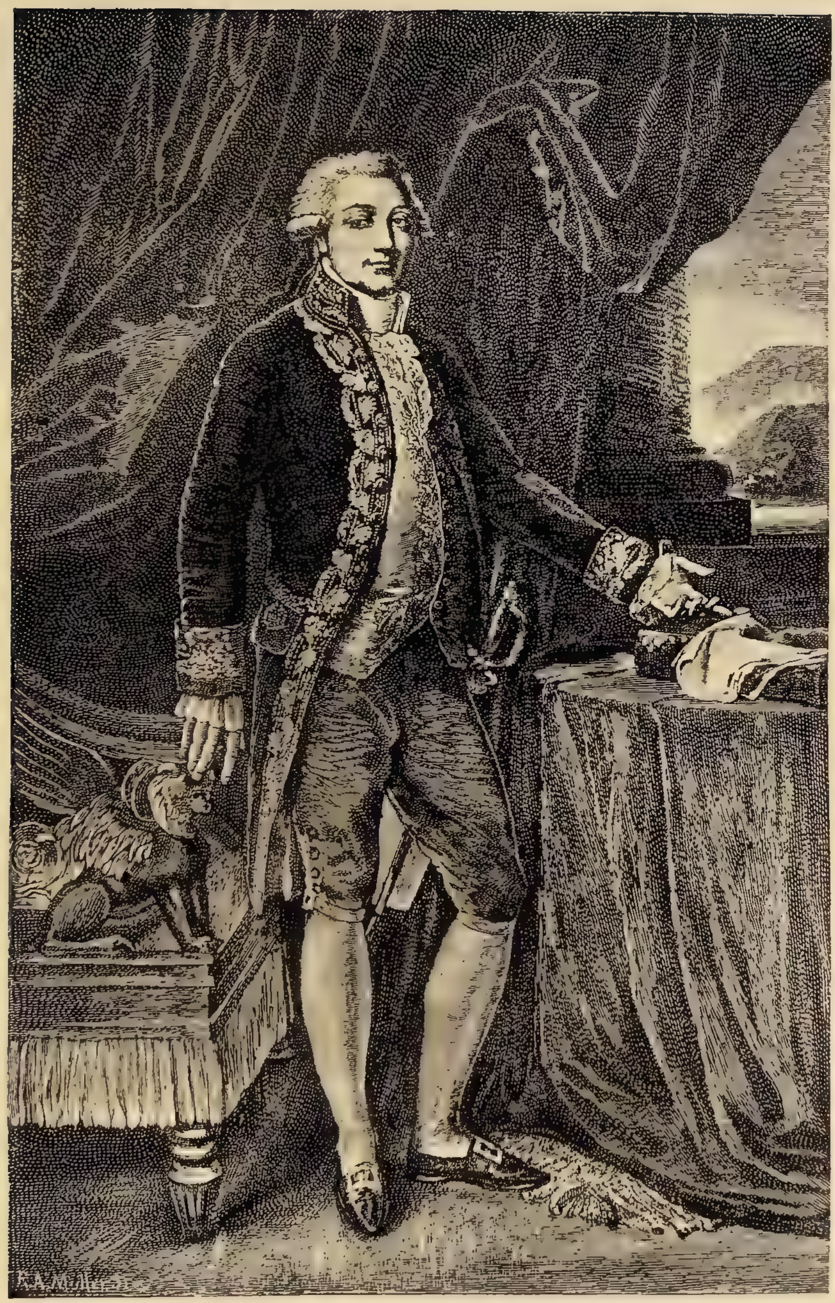
[16] See Masson, *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse,* 19, note.

[17] Browning, 36.



CARLO BUONAPARTE

Father of Napoleon Bonaparte

this name.[18] The ceremony was performed at the Cathedral by the great-uncle, Archdeacon Lucien. The godmother of Napoleon was his aunt, Gertrude Paravisino, a sister of his father. She had, in a way, adopted her brother's children, and was to them a second mother. In his letters home, Napoleon frequently spoke in terms of affection of his "Zia Gertrude." At her death, about 1788, she left all of her property to the sons of her brother.

Of the early childhood and first education of Napoleon, we have few authentic details. At about the age of five, he was placed in a school of young girls. But he had already received some primary instruction from the Abbé Recco, to whom he left 20,000 francs in his will. Joseph was also one of the abbé's pupils at the same time.

It is difficult to place much confidence in the stories of Napoleon's early passion for a military life. He himself fails to mention anything of the kind in his talks at Saint Helena, although he often spoke of his childhood. It seems certain, however, from his own confession, that he was turbulent, aggressive, and quarrelsome. Over Joseph, his elder, he had the most complete ascendancy.[19]

The little sister, Marie-Anne, two years younger than himself, whom Napoleon dearly loved, was the favorite playmate of his childhood, but she died when he was seven years old. From that time on, his only companion was his brother Joseph. In his familiar talks at Saint Helena, forty years later, it is always of Joseph that he speaks: their escapades together, the beatings he gave him, the triumphs of Joseph at school, the superiority of his mind. This was entirely natural: the younger children were separated from him by intervals of six, eight, and nine years — Lucien, born in 1775, Élisa in 1777, and Louis in 1778. They were so much younger that Joseph seemed like his only brother, while he regarded Louis more in the light of a son. But, although Napoleon, in a certain sense, looked up to Joseph as his elder, and therefore the chief of the clan, he himself was considered from the first as the leader of the family.

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[18] She was born 14 July 1771 and died in December 1776. She must not be confounded with the third child of the same name, afterwards known as Élisa, who married Bacciochi. See Masson, *op. cit.*, 22, note.

[19] See 1 *Mémorial*, 153, and 1 Antommarchi 353; also Larrey, *Madame Mère*, 528.

By royal decree, in February 1776, the École Militaire at Paris was replaced by ten provincial military schools; and, at the same time, these schools, as well as the seminary at Aix and the *pension* for girls at Saint-Cyr, were thrown open to the Corsicans. Charles Bonaparte at once took steps to secure admission to some one of these academies for his two sons, Joseph and Napoleon, and his young brother-in-law, Fesch. Without much difficulty he obtained entry for Fesch at the Seminary of Aix; and for Joseph at the College of Autun, where he was to study for the priesthood. He also arranged for Napoleon to pass a few months at Autun to learn French, before proceeding to the military school at Brienne, where he was to be placed.

Charles left Corsica with his little party on the 15 December 1778. From statements made by Napoleon at Saint Helena, and by Joseph in his *Mémoires* [20] it would appear that they travelled by way of Tuscany and the North of Italy. This, however, seems doubtful, for they reached Autun on the first day of January.

The only information that we have regarding Napoleon's short sojourn at Autun is contained in a letter written by the Abbé Chardon about 1823, more than forty years later. He says: "I only had him three months: during this time he learned to converse freely, and even to compose little exercises. At the end of the three months, I despatched him with a M. de Champeaux for the military school of Brienne."

According to the registers of the College of Autun, Napoleon remained there three months and twenty days, that is to say, until the 20 April. The registers at Brienne record that:

> To-day, 23 April 1779, Napoléon de Buonaparte arrived at the Royal Military School of Brienne-le-Château, at the age of nine years, eight months, and five days.[21]

[20] 1 *Mémorial,* 116, and Joseph, 1 *Mémoires,* 26.

[21] There is an error of three days in this record of his age.

This is the date given by Coston, and by Dumas, but in the *Époques de ma vie,* already referred to, Bonaparte writes: "Parti pour Brienne le 12 mai 1779." It is impossible to explain this discrepancy in dates, but the matter is of no importance.

In parting at Autun with Joseph, to whom he was much attached, the last tie was broken which connected Napoleon with his family and his native island. At Brienne, he was to live alone, amidst the enemies of his beloved Corsica. He was, furthermore, almost entirely ignorant of their language and their manners.

This military school, strangely enough, was conducted by the friars of a minor religious order. The pupils numbered about one hundred, of whom fifty, including Napoleon, had scholarships from the King, who paid for each of them 700 francs a year, out of a fund provided for that purpose. For this sum the brothers were to lodge, feed, clothe, and instruct the pupils.

Among Napoleon's professors were, Père Dupuy, teacher of grammar, whom he afterwards appointed librarian at Malmaison; and Pichegru, the future Republican general, who was for a short period his instructor in mathematics.

An amusing anecdote is related regarding Napoleon's writing-master. One day, at Saint-Cloud, an aged man, apparently poor, solicited of Duroc an audience with the Emperor. When admitted to the presence of Napoleon, he made himself known as the teacher of penmanship at Brienne. "A fine pupil you made of me," said the Emperor; "I offer you my compliments!"[22]

Among the comrades of Napoleon, the most celebrated later were the generals Gudin and Nansouty. Equally well-known was his future private secretary, Bourrienne, whom he was finally forced to dismiss for dishonesty, but whom he continued to employ in other capacities, on account of their early friendship.

Except in mathematics, in which he excelled, Napoleon was not a brilliant scholar. In all his other courses he was handicapped by his ignorance of French. He took but little part in the sports of his comrades, and spent most of his leisure hours in reading.

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[22] Napoleon's writing was almost unreadable. (See *Napoleon the First,* 362.)

The students were allowed no vacations, and Napoleon never left Brienne from the day of his arrival in the spring of 1779 until his departure for Paris in October 1784. During this long period of over five years, he had one visit from his father, in June 1784, when Charles came to France to put Élisa in school at Saint-Cyr, and to consult Dr. Lassonne about his health. Several authorities have stated that Napoleon was also visited by his mother, who was anxious about the reports of his ill-health, and that she then persuaded him to give up his idea of entering the Navy instead of the Army. But this is very doubtful.[23]

In 1783, Fesch brought from Corsica his young nephew Lucien, and left him with Joseph in the college at Autun. When Charles came the following year, he conducted Lucien to Brienne, where he was to become a pupil. Charles, at this time, was so short of funds that he was obliged to borrow twenty-five louis of a friend, to pay his expenses. This fact makes it all the more improbable that he was accompanied by his wife.

For Lucien, from the first, Napoleon seems to have had but little affection, and the years that followed were only to accentuate this lack of sympathy. "Launched in the same career as his brother," Lucien felt that he was his equal. Napoleon was disposed to look after him, but only as a protector, a director, and a master. Later, Lucien admitted that, "it was to these early impressions that he owed the repugnance he always felt to bending before the will of his imperious brother."

Soon after this visit from his father, the future of Napoleon was decided by his appointment to the École Militaire at Paris. The middle of September there arrived at Brienne, on a tour of inspection of the military schools of France, Chevalier de Kéralio. He recognized the remarkable ability of the young cadet, and decided to send him to Paris. He drew up the following certificate, which informs us regarding Napoleon's physique and state of health at this time: "M. de Buonaparte, height four feet, ten inches, ten lines [about five feet three inches English measure], . . . of good constitution, excellent health."

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[23] See Masson, *op. cit.*, 72, note.

In connection with Napoleon's departure from Brienne, we find another discrepancy as to dates. The appointment to the school at Paris, signed by the King, and countersigned by Maréchal de Ségur, Minister of War, bears the date of 22 October 1784.[24] This date also agrees with Napoleon's statement in the *Époques:* "Left for the Paris school the 30 October 1784." But a manuscript written in 1815 by one of his comrades, Castres, and published twenty years ago, states:

> "We left Brienne in two carriages on the 17 October 1784, and took the barge (*coche d'eau*) at Nogent. Bonaparte set foot in Paris for the first time at the Port de Saint-Paul on the 21st; and the 22d we were led by two monks, who accompanied us, to the École Militaire."[25]

This barge, which arrived at Paris twice a week from Burgundy, was an immense "floating house," which could carry three hundred passengers, little pressed for time, and poor, for the trip of fifty hours cost only nine livres seven sols.

It was late in the afternoon of this autumn day of 1784 when the barge tied up at the quay, and there emerged from the immense cabin a Frère Minime, followed by a line of five boys, of whom certainly the most insignificant in appearance was the one who, fifteen years later, was to be the acknowledged master of this great capital.

We know that the party crossed the Seine at the Pont Marie, in the Rue des Deux-Ponts, and dined at a small inn which bore the sign of the *Coq-Hardi;* then they marched along the quay, where little Bonaparte bought a copy of *Gil Blas,* for which his comrade Castres paid, as he had not a sou. Night was falling, when, after a prayer at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, they reached the École Militaire.

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[24] This letter is now in the collection of Prince Victor Napoleon at Brussels.

[25] *Revue de Paris,* 1er janvier 1905. This date is accepted by Coston (I, 256), but Masson (*Op. cit.,* 87) thinks that the date given by Napoleon is correct.

Although the Military School exists to-day, in practically the same state as during the time of Napoleon, the room which he occupied is no longer to be placed. In 1785, the cadets were lodged in a wooden dormitory erected in the middle of the first court. Here, each one had a little square chamber, furnished with an iron camp-bed, with curtains of Alençon linen; a wooden chair; and a low wardrobe, upon which was placed a pewter toilet set.[26]

The Military School of Paris was founded during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, when the building was erected in the Plaine de Grenelle, near the Hôtel des Invalides. Under the ministry of the Comte de Saint-Germain, during the following reign, the school was suppressed, and replaced by a special school destined to receive the élite of the students in the provincial military academies, under the name of gentlemen-cadets. They were to be between the ages of thirteen and fifteen.

Many apocryphal stories are related about Napoleon's arrival in Paris, and his life at the Military School.[27] The testimony of Napoleon at Saint Helena is more credible. "At the Military School," he said, "we were nourished and served magnificently; treated in every respect like officers enjoying a great competence — greater than that of the majority of our families, greater than that which most of us were to experience later." [28]

At the time of Napoleon's arrival, there were 135 cadets in the school, and they had no less than 111 employés or domestics to serve them! But aside from the nourishment and the personnel, the luxury does not seem to have been great.[29]

At the school, Napoleon had one great friend, Desmazis, who afterwards became one of his chamberlains when he was Emperor; and one great enemy, Phélippeaux, whom he was to find in his path fourteen years later, at Saint-Jean-d'Acre. It is not remarkable that the names of so few of Napoleon's comrades at the school are to be found in his later history, for nearly all of the cadets emigrated at the time of the Revolution. Of the eight commissioned in the artillery at the same time as Napoleon, he was the only one who remained in the Army. Davout was the only cadet who served under the Emperor, and he entered the school just a month before Napoleon left.

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[26] Lenotre, 1 *Vieilles maisons, vieux papiers*, 175–177.

[27] See Abrantès, 1 *Mémoires*, 58; 1 Coston, 62, 63; 1 Jung, 117.

[28] 4 *Mémorial*, 122.

[29] Masson, *op, cit.*, 92, 110.

During the first months of 1785, Napoleon lost his father. In this connection, an anecdote is told, which is so characteristic that it may be true. It was the custom in the school, in case of a death in his family, to send the pupil to the infirmary, where he could give full vent to his grief; but Napoleon refused to avail himself of this privilege. "It is for women to weep," he said; "but a man should know how to suffer. I have not come to this hour without having thought of death; I accustom my soul to it the same as to life." [30]

As already stated, Charles Bonaparte had visited France, in June 1784, for the purpose of placing his eldest daughter, Marie-Anne (Élisa), in school at Saint-Cyr, and of conducting his son Lucien to Brienne. As he already felt the first symptoms of the malady which was so soon to carry him off, while at Paris he consulted a celebrated Court physician, Dr. Lassonne,[31] whose treatment seemed to give him a temporary relief.

But, during the following months, the disease made rapid progress, and on the 9 November 1784 Charles embarked for the Continent for the purpose of consulting Dr. Lassonne again. This time he was accompanied by his son Joseph and his young brother-in-law, Fesch. They had a very rough passage, and when he reached Aix, where he was to leave Fesch in the seminary, he found himself too weak to continue his journey to Paris. He consulted Dr. Tournatoire, one of the leading physicians of Provence, who considered his case very grave, and advised him to go to Montpellier, where he would find greater resources from the medical point of view, besides a climate very similar to that of his native island.[32]

Still accompanied by his son, Charles accordingly proceeded to Montpellier, where they took up lodgings in a modest inn, while awaiting the decision of the Faculty as to whether the invalid would be detained by a more or less prolonged sojourn.

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[30] Cited by Cabanès, 55.

[31] Not *de la Sonde,* as written by Masson, in *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse,* 81 and 116.

[32] Grasset-Morel, *Les Bonaparte à Montpellier.*

At Montpellier, Charles met M. de Permon, grandfather of the future Duchesse d'Abrantès, who has given us in her *Mémoires* a somewhat inaccurate account of his visit. She was very young at the time, and her memory may have been at fault when she composed her memoirs many years later. She states that her grandfather pressed the travellers to accept hospitality under his roof, where the invalid would receive the best possible care. However this may be, as soon as the physicians had given their opinions as to the gravity of his case, Charles left the inn, and found more comfortable quarters, with his son, in a small retired house outside the town. This dwelling, which comprised only one story above the *rez-de-chaussée,* is still in existence, in much the same condition. The house was owned by a Mme. Delon, who nursed the poor Corsican gentleman with the most complete devotion. But neither her attentions, nor the prescriptions of his able medical attendants, were successful in arresting the malady, which indeed was incurable. His alimentation became more and more painful, and his stomach soon rejected all nourishment. On the 24 February 1785, Charles Bonaparte passed away, aged not quite thirty-nine years.

Prior to the nineteenth century autopsies were very unusual in France, even at Paris.[33] At Montpellier, a university city, dissections were perhaps more common than at the capital. Nevertheless, an autopsy, unless ordered by a judicial authority, could hardly have been performed except in the case of a person of a certain standing, or one which was unusually interesting from the medical point of view. The latter was probably the reason for the autopsy performed on the body of Charles Bonaparte.

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[33] "Medical anatomy was so little cultivated at Paris, that hardly a hundred bodies were opened each year, for anatomical demonstrations, public or private, in order to ascertain the locations and the causes of the diseases from which certain persons had died; or for the purpose of embalmment; or, finally, pursuant to a judicial order. It was only by a kind of theft, from the churches and cemeteries of Paris, that cadavers were obtained for our private amphitheatres. It is only since the Revolution that the hospitals have generally given them, not only to public establishments, but also to private professors, for dissections by their students." Portal, 4 Œuvres, 86–87. (Dissections during the 18th century.)

In her *Souvenirs,*[34] Madame Mère refers only to the " disease of the stomach " to which her husband succumbed, and the word *cancer* does not occur in the report of the autopsy; but the description of the indications, given by the surgeons, leaves no doubts that this was the cause of his death. " The full diagnosis," writes Dr. Cabanès, " is given in a document of unexceptionable authenticity, of which we have a copy, made by Baron Dubois, the celebrated accoucheur of Marie-Louise, from the original *procès-verbal* of the autopsy, and which was communicated to him by a member of the Imperial family." [35]

About the middle of August 1785, Napoleon took his examinations for admission to the Army, and, although he had been at the school only a year, was ranked number 42 out of 58 who passed. He was commissioned second-lieutenant in the Régiment de la Fère of the royal corps of artillery, then stationed at Valence.[36] He left the school on the 28 October, and two days later departed by the Lyon diligence. By way of Fontainebleau, Sens, Auxerre, and Autun, he reached Chalon, where he took the barge and descended the Saône to Lyon; there the travellers embarked upon a postal-boat which conducted them to Valence in a day.

During the twelve months that Napoleon passed at the Military School, he received no leaves of absence, even to visit his sister at Saint-Cyr. There is therefore no truth in the statement of Mme. d'Abrantès in her *Mémoires* that he stayed a week with her family, the Permons, in their residence on the Quai Conti.[37]

It is worthy of remark that, of the eight cadets commissioned from the Military School, all except Napoleon had been there from two to four years; also that he was the first Corsican to graduate, which assured him a certain standing in his country.

[34] Baron Larrey, 1 *Madame Mère.* (Historical essay, Paris, 1892.)

[35] Cabanès, *Au chevet de l'Empereur,* 16. The report is given in full on pages 18–21; also in Masson, 367–369.

[36] His brevet is in the collection of Prince Victor, at Brussels.

[37] See Masson, *Op. cit.,* 124–125.

His chum, Desmazis, was ordered to the same regiment, and the two comrades set out together.

At Valence, Napoleon secured a room in the house of a Mlle. Bou, at the corner of the Grande-Rue and the Rue du Croissant, where there now stands a modern business block, without any tablet to mark the place where he lived. His pay was only 800 francs a year, supplemented by an allowance of 125 francs for quarters, and 200 francs from the École Militaire, or less than 100 francs a month in all. The first two months he drilled, like all the cadets of that period, first as private, then as corporal, then as sergeant; and did not begin his service as second-lieutenant until after the first of January.

The garrison at Valence at that time comprised seven regiments of artillery, and Napoleon's regiment, of La Fère, was considered one of the best in the Army. Napoleon never forgot his old comrades at Valence, and loaded with favors all who served him and their country. At Saint Helena, he often spoke of them.

Of Napoleon's life at Valence, we have but few details. He was timid and shy; he had no money to spend for luxuries, as his meagre pay barely covered his absolutely necessary expenses: all that he could save was used in buying books, and all his leisure hours were spent in reading or dreaming. It was then that he acquired that vast and varied erudition which in 1808 astonished the sovereigns at Erfurt, and which he attributed to the leisure hours when he had "the honor of being a simple lieutenant en second of artillery." At that earlier period, however, he was not so proud of his poor grade of second-lieutenant, and in his letters always signed himself *officier d'artillerie.*

At this time he was very much under the influence of Rousseau, which was apparent not only in his ideas, but even in the form of his phrases and his literary style. The day was to come, however, when, in speaking of the object of his former cult, he was to say: "It would be better for the repose of France, if that man had never existed!"

At the end of his year in the service, Napoleon was entitled to a leave of absence, and, as the Corsicans had the privilege of taking their congés a month before the other officers, he left Valence on the first of September, and reached Ajaccio two weeks later. He was seventeen years and one month old, as he states in his notes, and it was seven years and nine months since his departure. He did not leave for France again until the 12 September 1787; but we have no details of his life during this period except in the *Mémoires* of Joseph.[38]

"His arrival," says Joseph, "was a great happiness for our mother and myself. . . . His habitudes were those of a studious young man. He brought with him a few French books, and the principal classics, in French translations. These filled a trunk much larger than the one which contained his personal effects."

At this time, Napoleon had forgotten his Italian, and was impatient because he could not speak the language of the country. It was not until his following visit that he was able once more to read and speak his native tongue fluently.

After the death of his father, Joseph had returned to Ajaccio, where he posed as the head of the family, looking after their affairs under the direction of his great-uncle, Lucien. The family was poor, and heavily in debt — so short of money that Letitia could not repay the twenty-five louis borrowed by her husband for his last voyage to France. She had only one domestic, at three francs a month, and did a large part of the household work herself.

At home, Napoleon found four little brothers and sisters — Louis, born just before his departure, and the three who came after he left: Pauline, Caroline, and Jérôme. The two older ones, Napoleon took at once to his heart, and they continued always to be his favorites. Joseph, who was then eighteen, had poise and common sense, and was quite well-educated. He wrote French correctly, and spoke pure Italian. His real qualities, of heart rather than of mind, were somewhat spoiled by his puerile vanity, which he never overcame. He was idle, lazy, and always inclined to shirk responsibility.

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[38] Joseph, 1 *Mémoires,* 32.

During his stay, Napoleon renewed his acquaintance with some of his relatives, but he could not converse freely with them, as most of them did not understand French, and he had forgotten the Corsican patois. To them, he seemed *Frenchified,* and almost a stranger.

Napoleon led this life from September 1786 to June 1788, nearly two years — broken only by a trip of three months to Paris, from October to December 1787. On account of the threat of a war with Prussia over the Netherlands, all the leaves were cancelled in August 1787, and he was at Marseille on his way to rejoin his regiment at Douai, when the countermand reached him. He therefore took advantage of the opportunity to visit Paris.

Napoleon now became acquainted with Paris for the first time, as during the year that he spent at the École Militaire he had had no opportunity of seeing the city. He stayed at the Hôtel de Cherbourg, Rue du Four-Saint-Honoré.[39] The building still exists, at No. 33, and up to 1878 was maintained as an inn, under the same name. The ground-floor and entresol have been entirely remodelled, but the upper floors remain in the same state. The young Corsican officer, it is said, occupied a room, No. 9, on the third floor; he rarely went out except for his meals, which he took at a restaurant in the Passage des Petits-Pères, where he ate at six sous the *portion,* or at the *Trois-Bornes,* in the Rue de Valois.

Napoleon visited the theatres, especially the Italian Opéra, and walked in the gardens and passages of the Palais-Royal. Among the *Libri Manuscripts,* there is a curious and interesting paper which tells of his encounter in the alleys of the Palais-Royal with a *fille de joie.* This document has been printed by M. Masson, in facsimile, and is also given, both in French and English, by Mr. Browning. Napoleon was encouraged by the timidity of the young girl, and asked her many questions, *Pourquoi? Comment?* and so forth. And, while talking, he and the girl came to the Hôtel de Cherbourg.

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[39] This street was narrowed in 1864 when the Halles were constructed, and the name was then changed to Rue de Vauvilliers.

This encounter was such an event in his gloomy life, that, as soon as he was alone, he made a record of it, which he dated with precision: *Jeudi 22 novembre 1787 à Paris, hôtel de Cherbourg, rue du Four-Saint-Honoré.*[40]

The main object of Napoleon's trip to Paris was to collect from the French Government an unpaid balance of 3000 francs due on a contract signed with his father in 1782, under which Charles was to make a nursery of mulberry trees. Charles had received 5800 francs, but the contract was annulled in May 1786, leaving this unpaid balance due the Bonapartes. Napoleon pressed this claim before the Controller-General, with all the force of his intellect, but was unsuccessful.[41] He accordingly returned to Ajaccio on the first of January 1788. Before leaving Paris, he had obtained an extension of his congé, of six months from the first of December.

He found his mother in a state of great distress. Joseph was absent, at Pisa, where he had gone to pursue his studies and obtain a degree, and Letitia was all alone with her four younger children, with no domestic to aid her in the household work.

During this sojourn of five months, Napoleon was occupied with the family affairs, and in collecting material for his proposed history of Corsica. In a letter under date of the 18 April, Joseph announced his early return, and Napoleon had the pleasure of seeing his brother before his departure. On the first of June, he set out for Auxonne, where his regiment had been in garrison since the month of December preceding.

We have but few authentic details regarding Napoleon's first stay at Auxonne, from June 1788 to September 1789. On his arrival, he found all of his old comrades; resumed his intimacy with Desmazis; and lodged in the barracks. The story about his being nearly drowned at Auxonne, in 1786, may be true, but the date is not correct.[42]

At this time he began a course of study in the artillery school, which was under the command of Baron du Teil, who was to have a great influence on his life. The baron was perhaps the first to recognize Napoleon's great ability, and he took much interest in his pupil's military career.[43]

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[40] *Cf.* Browning, 285; Lenotre, 177–181.

[41] His letter, setting up the claim, is printed by Masson, 156–158.

[42] See 3 *Mémorial,* 385.

Napoleon was so poor that he found no refuge except in work. In July 1789, he wrote: "I sleep but little since my illness. . . . I retire at ten o'clock, and I get up at four in the morning. I only take one meal a day: that is very good for my health."

The intellectual activity of Napoleon at this period is shown in the numerous papers written by him, mostly on subjects pertaining to his branch of the service.

In September 1789, Napoleon was entitled to another congé, and he left Auxonne about the middle of the month, arriving home two weeks later. This visit, although not so long as the one preceding, was to last until February 1791.

Leaving France in the throes of the Revolution, Napoleon arrived in Corsica to find nothing changed: everything was exactly the same as though there had never been any 14 July, or any Constituent Assembly sitting at Versailles. Immediately after his arrival, Napoleon saw his friends, related the events at Paris, determined the citizens of Ajaccio to adopt the tricolor cockade and open a club. He also drew up a call for the organization of a National Guard. With Joseph, he took an active part in all the popular movements. There were disturbances all over the island, and some bloodshed, but the National cause was finally triumphant everywhere.

As a result of his activities, and his exposure, Napoleon came down with a severe attack of malarial fever. He sent in an application, accompanied by a medical certificate, for an extension of his leave, which was promptly granted.

After a triumphal tour through France, Paoli entered the harbor of Bastia on the 17 July 1790, and was greeted as the "Father of his Country." He was joined at once by Joseph and Napoleon, who attached themselves to his cause.

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[43] Du Teil did not emigrate during the Revolution, and was guillotined at Lyon in 1794. The Emperor left a legacy of 100,000 francs to his son, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem.

Napoleon's leave had now expired, and he was waiting only for a favorable wind to embark. On the 16 November, the municipality of Ajaccio passed a resolution certifying to his patriotism and attachment to the Constitution. In January Napoleon finally set out, but was driven back to the coast of Corsica by adverse winds, and it was not until the last of the month that, armed with new certificates, and accompanied by his young brother Louis, he finally embarked to rejoin his regiment.

Napoleon reached Auxonne about the 12 February. As the extension of his leave had expired on the 15 October, he was liable to lose his pay for three months and a half, amounting to over 233 livres. But, on the strength of the certificates attesting that he had been detained by unfavorable winds, his colonel asked the War Department not to withhold his pay, and the request was granted.

Napoleon's quarters were in a house in the Rue Vauban, where he had a small room, furnished only with a bed, two chairs, and a table, while Louis slept on a mattress in a little adjoining cabinet. Besides his military service, and his literary work, Napoleon had undertaken the education of his young brother, so he had little time for society. In a letter to Joseph, dated 24 April 1791, he speaks in the highest terms of the progress made by Louis.

On the first of April, there was a reorganization of the corps of artillery; Napoleon was promoted to first-lieutenant and designated for the Regiment of Grenoble, now known as the Fourth, which was in garrison at Valence. As this change upset Napoleon's plans for the education of Louis and entailed considerable expense for new uniforms, he tried to have his transfer cancelled, but was not successful. He left Auxonne in debt, for the first time.

On reaching Valence, he took up his quarters again with Mlle. Bou and renewed many old friendships. At this time he formed an intimacy with Montalivet, whom he later made comte of the Empire and minister.

Shortly after his arrival, there occurred the flight of the

Royal family to Varennes (20 June), and the Army was ordered to take a new oath of fidelity, to the National Assembly. Napoleon took this oath with conviction, but it caused many officers to resign their commissions and leave the country.

The first of October 1791, Napoleon was entitled to a new congé, and left for Corsica with his brother. There seems to be little ground for the statement that his colonel refused him a leave of absence, and that he was forced to appeal to Baron du Teil, who, as Inspector-General of Artillery, had Valence in his command.[44]

Napoleon did not arrive home in time to take part in the elections to the Legislative Assembly, which were held at the end of September. Joseph was disappointed in his hopes of being elected a deputy. Pozzo di Borgo was a successful candidate, and this was the first break in his intimacy with the Bonapartes. From that time on, he was the implacable enemy of Napoleon and his entire family. From this period also dates the enmity of Paoli. Charles, the father, had been his friend and adherent, but he felt that the sons, who had been educated in France, were no longer loyal to their native island.

In October 1791 the malady from which their great-uncle, Lucien, had suffered for twenty years, became worse and he died on the night of the 15th. For years, he had collected the income of the family and guarded the money in his bed, from which he could not move. Before his death, he said to the family who were grouped around his bed: "Joseph will direct the affairs of the family; but you, Napoleon, you will be a great man." [45]

In the course of one of his visits to Corsica (April 1787), the young Napoleon, afflicted at the state of his uncle's health, had had the idea of consulting a celebrated Swiss physician, Dr. Tissot, of Lausanne. In a very remarkable letter,[46] the youthful artillery officer solicited the advice of the famous doctor. But Tissot did nothing further than to note on the margin of Bonaparte's letter: "Letter of slight interest, not answered." The doctor little imagined that the world was soon to resound with the *éclat* of the name of his timid and obscure correspondent!

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[44] *Cf.* Masson, 263, and 1 Coston, 170.

[45] Joseph, 1 *Mémoires,* 47 and 117. The archdeacon felt too strongly the sentiment of the clan to recognize Napoleon as the chief of the family as has been often said. *Cf.* Masson, 268, note.

[46] This curious epistle, full of mistakes in spelling and singularities of idioms, is quoted *verbatim et literatim* by Cabanès, 22–25; and is also given, in correct French, by Masson, 147–149. The document is undoubtedly authentic.

The death of their guardian placed at the disposal of the family the small treasure which he had so carefully accumulated, and made their financial condition somewhat easier.

A decree of the Assembly, 4 August 1791, had ordered the formation of battalions of volunteers in each department, to be composed of at least 568 men each, and to be commanded by two lieutenant-colonels, who were to be elected by the troops. Napoleon became a candidate for one of these offices and was duly chosen. This election removed the danger of his being stricken from the rolls of the Army on account of his absence without leave from the annual review on the first of January.

During the month of April 1792, there were some disturbances at Ajacico, in which several lives were lost. Napoleon does not seem to have been involved, but charges were made against him by Pozzo, whose faction had been unsuccessful in the elections, and Napoleon left hurriedly for Paris, to clear himself before the authorities.

He arrived in Paris on the 28 May, and went to the Hôtel des Patriotes Hollandais, Rue Royal-Saint-Roch, since called Rue des Moulins. The following day he wrote Joseph that he had found Paris in a state of convulsion; the guard around the King at the Tuileries had been doubled; the desertions among the officers were excessive; and the general situation was very critical. He adds that he has not yet seen Marianna (Élisa), but was going the second day following. He makes no allusion in his letter to the principal object of his visit — his reinstatement in the artillery.

At Paris he met again his old school-friend Bourrienne, who was as poor as himself. On the 20 June, he was taking his dinner with his friend in a restaurant of the Rue Saint-Honoré, near the Palais-Royal, when they saw the mob moving toward the

Tuileries, and followed. In a letter to Joseph, written two days later, he gives an interesting account of the entry of the palace by the mob.

In the meantime the committee of the Assembly had reported favorably on Napoleon's petition for reinstatement, and on the 10 July the Minister of War approved. So many officers had emigrated, that the Government could not afford to lose the services of a good man who desired to remain. Having been struck off the rolls as lieutenant on the 31 December 1791, he was reinstated as captain, to date from the 6 February 1792. He did not receive his commission, however, until the 30 August.

Napoleon was also present in Paris when the Tuileries were stormed by the populace and the Swiss Guard massacred, on the 10 August. "At the sound of the tocsin," he says, "I ran to the Carrousel, to the shop of Fauvelet, the brother of Bourrienne, who had a furniture store there." [47]

The *pension* at Saint-Cyr had been suppressed by the law of the 7 August, to take effect on the 16th, and the events of the 10th decided Napoleon that he must escort his sister back to Corsica. As soon as he received his new commission, at the end of August, he at once made his arrangements to leave. Élisa, under the new law, had lost the dot of 3000 francs formerly given the young girls when they came out, but she was entitled to an allowance of 352 livres for travelling expenses, which Napoleon collected.

The middle of September, he was at Marseille, whence he wrote Joseph. They remained there until the 14 October, when he finally received the sum of 1500 livres due him on his back-pay. Then he and Élisa set sail for Corsica.

On his return, Napoleon wished to resume the command of his battalion, now detached at Bonifacio, but Paoli had no intention of allowing Bonaparte to acquire new influence; and Paoli, by virtue of his various positions,[48] was in effect the dictator of Corsica.

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[47] 5 *Mémorial,* 170.

[48] He was president of the directory of the department, commander-in-chief of the National Guards, lieutenant-general, and commandant of the 23d Military Division.

At this time, Paoli was enfeebled by age, and was getting more and more under the influence of the English faction, which was led by Pozzo. After a final interview with the dictator, Napoleon left him and returned to Ajaccio. He then took part, with his battalion, in an expedition against the Madelena Isles, between Corsica and Sardinia. Paoli placed his nephew, Cesari-Colonna, in command, and the expedition was a failure, owing to his secret orders that it should miscarry.[49]

On his return to Ajaccio, on the 3 March, Napoleon found affairs in utter confusion. France had declared war on England and Holland; and commissioners were on their way from Paris, with orders to disband the Corsican National Guards, and to place Paoli under the direction of the French general commanding the Army of Italy.

Paoli was denounced as a traitor by Napoleon's brother Lucien, in a speech to the Jacobin Club at Toulon, and an order for his arrest was issued from Paris. Civil war now broke out in Corsica between the followers of Paoli and the adherents of the French Government; the Bonaparte home at Ajaccio was sacked, and the family were forced to flee for their lives. On the 11 June 1793, they all sailed for Toulon. This was Napoleon's real farewell to his native island, although he passed a few days at Ajaccio on his way home from Egypt in October 1799.

[49] 1 Rose, 35.

CHAPTER TWO

JUNE 1793 — OCTOBER 1795

TOULON TO VENDEMIAIRE

Lucien, As an Orator — His Alliance with Élisa — Her Love Affair with Truguet — Lucien's Bomb — The Family Traits — Napoleon Rejoins His Regiment — He writes the *Souper de Beaucaire* — Commands Artillery at Toulon — His Development — Joseph and Salicetti — Napoleon's Services at Toulon — He is Made General of Brigade — Inspector of Coasts — Scandalous Lives of the Bonaparte Girls — Portraits of Élisa and Pauline — Marriages of Joseph and Lucien — Arrest and Release of Napoleon — Fiasco of the Corsican Expedition — Napoleon Ordered to Paris — His Health at This Time — His Fortunes at Low Ebb — His Plan for a Campaign in Italy — Retired from Active Service — Devotion to His Family — The 13 Vendémiaire — Napoleon Enters on the Scene of History

ON THEIR arrival at Toulon, the family found Lucien waiting to receive them. On leaving the military school at Brienne, where he remained two years, he had been placed in the seminary at Aix, to study for the priesthood. The expected Royal scholarship, however, failed to materialize, and, as the young man showed no vocation for an ecclesiastical life, it was decided to bring him back to Corsica.

On Napoleon's return from Paris in 1792, he found Lucien the recognized orator of the Popular Society, speaking on every topic, on every occasion. Endowed with great ease of expression; with a verbal facility, which took the place of ideas; armed with classical allusions, which impressed the ignorant, Lucien, in spite of his youth, played an important rôle in the club of Ajaccio. It was he who took the initiative in pushing the Bonapartes to the front in the Revolutionary movement. Joseph, moderate and cautious, wished to remain in accord with Paoli; while Napoleon was too politic to avow openly his convictions. But Lucien took the lead, and compromised the whole family.

Paoli, well-informed as to the character of the young man, refused to accept Lucien as his secretary. Full of conceit, believing that he was destined to play a great rôle an an orator, or a man of letters, Lucien disdained any career except that of public life. Especially in the eyes of the women of his family, at that time he appeared to be the genius who was destined to render their name illustrious.

On the return of Élisa, a bond of sympathy was formed between her and Lucien, which was destined in the future to make them very intimate. Although she was an aristocrat by education and a royalist in sympathy, while he was just the contrary, the fact that they were nearly of the same age naturally threw them much together, and made them allies. Joseph and Napoleon were absent most of the time, and when at home were little disposed to make a confidante of this pedantic young girl of sixteen. They had also the Corsican disregard for female opinions, while Lucien held them in high esteem.

At this moment, the squadron of Admiral Truguet dropped anchor in the harbor of Ajaccio, and Ambassador Sémonville landed. Shortly, Lucien was acting as the interpreter of the ambassador and the factotum of the admiral, as neither one nor the other could speak Italian. As the Bonaparte brothers, and their uncle, Fesch, were almost the only men at Ajaccio who could speak French, and Élisa was the only woman, the admiral and the ambassador naturally spent most of their time at the Bonaparte mansion. When a fête was given for the officers of the squadron, Élisa was the belle of the ball. Truguet was young, elegant, and well brought-up, although of rather common origin. Through the emigration of his seniors, he had reached a high rank in the service at an early age, and he had all the ardor of his youth, as well as of his profession. He became much in love with Élisa, but there was not time for the affair to come to a conclusion. At the end of three weeks, the fleet sailed for the unfortunate expedition to Sardinia, and never returned to Corsica. Truguet was to regret all his life this *occasion manquée* to become brother-in-law of an Emperor![1]

Sémonville remained at Ajaccio several weeks after the departure of the fleet, and, when he left Corsica in March, was accompanied by Lucien in the capacity of secretary. Arrived at Toulon, Lucien hurried to the Jacobin Club, where he made a fulminating declaration against Paoli, and drew up an address to the Convention, which was presented at Paris the day after the accusation of Dumouriez (2 April). Orders were at once issued for the arrest of Paoli and Pozzo di Borgo, as traitors.

Lucien was exultant in his triumph. "I have dealt our enemies a decisive blow," he wrote his brothers. "*You did not look for it!*" Indeed they did not; nor did he realize in what danger he had put his entire family, who barely escaped with their lives from the island. This bomb of Lucien certainly had far-reaching and marvellous consequences. It brought the Bonapartes to France, where they were almost on the first steps of the Imperial throne.

The spirit of the clan is shown in the fact that in the future neither Napoleon, nor Joseph, nor Louis, made the slightest allusions, in their writings, to the rôle which Lucien had played. In this first phase of his life, Napoleon showed the same family spirit which he was to display during the other periods of his existence. Even at that early date, it may be said that the characteristic traits of the different members of the family (except in the case of Louis, who was to be greatly changed later by his malady) were clearly revealed — Joseph, lazy but worthy, to whom all was due because he was by birth the chief of the family; Lucien, restless, ambitious, undisciplined, always acting on the first impulse of the moment; Élisa, pedantic, headstrong, dissimulating her feelings; Pauline, full of grace and beauty.

As for Napoleon, he was then what he was always to be in the future: brotherly, with a shade of deference, and almost of respect, for Joseph; paternal, with a touch of infinite kindness for Louis; ready to forgive everything to Lucien, whom he esteems highly, but with whom there is already a shadow of rivalry; disposed to fulfill his whole duty toward Élisa, without having any real sympathy for her; keeping a tender kindness, and the weakness of a big brother, for that exquisite, rare, truly feminine being, who knows how to love, and is worth loving, Pauline.[2]

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[1] At the time of the proclamation of the Empire, Truguet was the only admiral who cast his vote in opposition.

On their arrival at Toulon, the Bonapartes took lodgings at La Valette, a little village at the gates of the city; here they stayed for several weeks, and then moved to Marseille before the beginning of the siege of Toulon.[3]

Napoleon left his family immediately, to rejoin his regiment at Nice.[4] Here he had the good fortune to find Jean du Teil, brother of his old friend, the baron. Du Teil assigned him to the coast-batteries, and it was in this quality, perhaps as aide de camp of the general, that he wrote an important letter regarding the defences to Barras, then Minister of War, under date of the 3 July.

A few days after this date, he was ordered by his general to go to Avignon, to secure some munitions of war belonging to his regiment, and prevent their seizure by the insurgents of Marseille. Napoleon found that he was too late to fulfill this mission, and placed himself under the orders of General Carteaux, who was in command of the troops of the Convention sent to occupy Avignon. On the 25 July, the city was evacuated by the insurgents, and Carteaux took possession the following day. Napoleon was in command of a small detachment of artillery, and is said to have determined this retreat. On the 28th, he left for Tarascon, and the following day was at Beaucaire. It was here that he wrote his celebrated brochure: *Le souper de Beaucaire.*[5]

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[2] Masson, 1 *Napoléon et sa famille,* 71–72.

[3] This is the statement of Joseph and Louis, in their memoirs, accepted by Masson (339); but Coston (1, 243) says that they went at once to Marseille, while Lucien (*Mém.,* 39) has the family arrive directly at that city.

[4] At this date (26 June 1793), he had been absent from the army 57 months out of the 92 since he first received his commission.

[5] See Masson, 342–343, and notes.

This pamphlet brought Napoleon's name favorably to the attention of the Convention, and it was ordered printed at the public expense. It purports to record a discussion between an officer (Napoleon himself), two merchants of Marseille, and citizens of Nîmes and Montpellier. It urges all good citizens to rally to the Republic, and save the cause of the Revolution by repelling the foreign invaders: better the Reign of Terror than the vengeance of the Ancien Régime. As an exposé of keen policy and all-dominating opportunism, the *Souper de Beaucaire* is admirable.[6]

Among the *Représantants en mission* in the South of France at this time was the Corsican Salicetti, who was influential in calling attention to the work of his friend and compatriot. On the 7 September, Dommartin, who commanded the artillery in front of Toulon, was severely wounded, and Salicetti designated Napoleon to replace him. Under date of the 26 September, he wrote the Committee of Public Safety at Paris:

> We had some heavy artillery in front of Marseille, but it was in bad condition. . . . The wounding of Dommartin has left us without any chief-of-artillery. Chance has served us marvellously: we have retained the citizen Buonaparte, a trained captain, who was on his way to the Army of Italy, and have ordered him to replace Dommartin.

On the 12 September 1793,[7] Napoleon arrived before Toulon, and took charge of the artillery. "There, History will take him up, never to leave him," says Las Cases; "there begins his immortality."

At this time Napoleon was just twenty-four years old, and we may consider his character as fully developed. The little Corsican school-boy of Brienne, who hated the French, has entirely changed. The Revolution, and eight years of service in the Army, have made of him a patriotic Frenchman, and the remainder of his life is to be devoted to the service of France. "It was History," says Masson, "which had been his instructor, which furnished him his arguments, his manner of seeing

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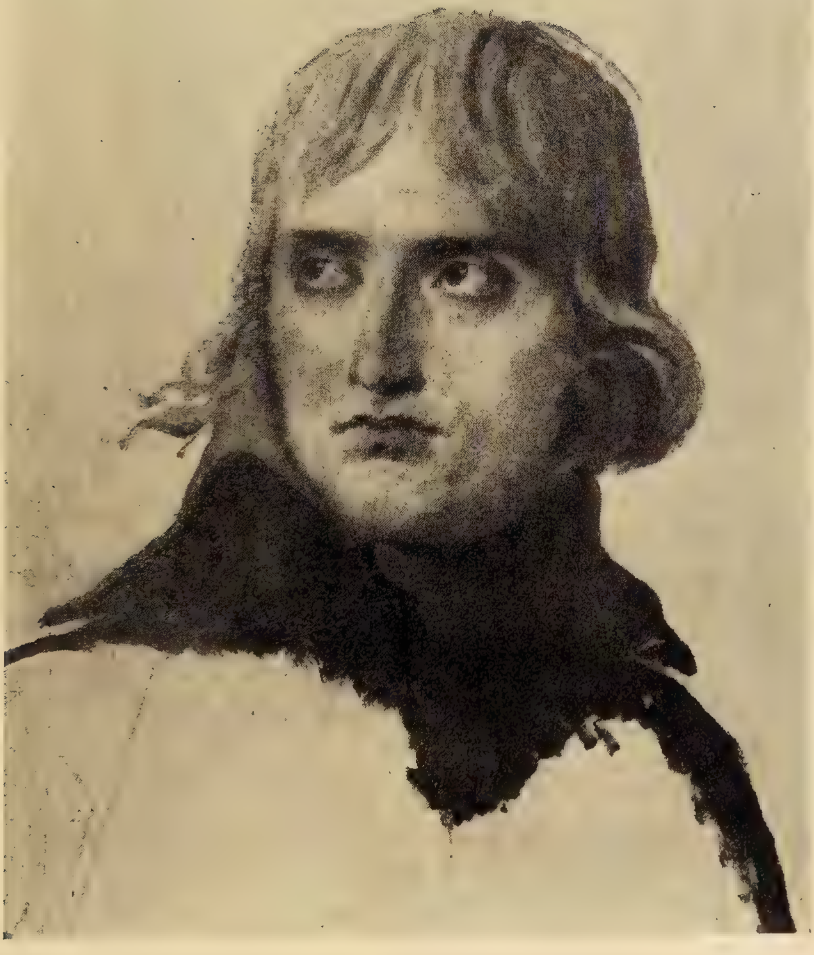
[6] 1 Rose, 41.

[7] Schuermans, 17.



BONAPARTE

(sketch by David)

and thinking, which, at the first stroke, made of him a statesman."[8] It was also to his reading of history that Napoleon himself attributed the foundation of his genius as a warrior. "Read and meditate on the wars of the greatest captains," he said. "This is the only way of learning the science of war."[9]

In the mass of historical notes, written by Napoleon between 1786 and 1792, we find the germs of all his ideas, as general, consul, and emperor. None of these notes was indifferent or useless; there was not one which he could not immediately put in practice. His marvellous memory never forgot anything, but his mind transformed and matured these earlier conceptions. It would almost seem as though his prophetic eye had seen the route that he was to travel, when one reads the last words of an unfinished analysis of the Geography of Lacroix: *Sainte-Hélène, petite île.*[10]

Soon after the arrival of the family at Toulon, Joseph went to Paris, where he worked zealously for the resolution, adopted by the Convention on the 11 July, allowing the refugee Corsican patriots an indemnity of 600,000 francs. On the return of Salicetti from Corsica, a week later, Paoli was declared a traitor, and outlawed. Since the Revolution, Salicetti had been a warm friend of the Bonapartes, and now, on leaving Paris *en mission* for the South of France, he took Joseph with him. On the 4 September, he secured the appointment of Joseph as a commissioner of war, at a salary of 6000 francs, besides his quarters, and office expenses.

The effects of the coup d'état of the 31 May (1793) at Paris were soon felt in the provinces. On the 12 June, Marseille was in a state of insurrection; a month later Toulon revolted, and received the adhesion of Admiral Trogoff, commander of the fleet.

Madame Bonaparte therefore had only a month of relative quiet at La Valette, before the troubles at Toulon forced her to depart. After a short stay at two small villages, she proceeded to Marseille as soon as the Government forces regained possession of the city. Here, through the courtesy of the Representatives, she was lodged in the hôtel of an émigré. They also gave Lucien a position as store-keeper of the warehouses at Saint-Maximin, with a salary of 1200 francs, and his rations.

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[8] Masson, 354.

[9] Cited in Henderson, *The Science of War*, 258.

[10] *Libri Manuscripts*, XXXII.

Therefore the period of real privations for the family lasted only about three months, at the end of which time the three elder sons were well placed, and Madame herself had comfortable quarters at Marseille, where she could receive regularly the succor voted for the refugees.

As some recent writers have endeavored to minimize the services of Napoleon at Toulon, it may be well here briefly to restate the facts. He arrived on the 12 September; on the 14th the Representatives sent to the Committee of Public Safety a plan for the reduction of Toulon: this plan, quite different from the one previously proposed, was the project of Napoleon. Within a week after he took charge, Napoleon had established and equipped one new battery; before the 23d, two more were in place; by the 15 October, five additional batteries opened fire; and finally, before the 16 November, he had added three more batteries, which completed the investment of the town. At this moment, General du Teil arrived, to take the general command of the siege artillery. It was Napoleon himself who had requested the Representatives to "send a brigadier-general, who, by reason of his rank, could demand consideration, and impress the ignorant members of the general staff." But, before the arrival of Du Teil, all the preliminary work, the most difficult of all, had been accomplished. Here is Du Teil's own estimate of the value of the services of Bonaparte: "I lack words," he wrote the Minister of War, "to describe to you the merits of Buonaparte: much science, as much intelligence, and too much bravery — such is a feeble outline of the merits of this rare officer. It is for you, Minister, to consecrate him to the service of the Republic."

On the 29 September, Napoleon was promoted to chef de bataillon (major); on the 27 October, to adjudant général chef de brigade; and on the 22 December, to the provisional rank of brigadier-general.[11]

These promotions meant much to Napoleon, and perhaps more to his family, whom they put beyond the reach of want. As general of brigade, he received a salary of 12,000 francs, with a supplement of 2000 francs when in active service; and this was increased, by the law of 20 July 1794, to 15,000 francs a year, with an allowance for quarters and rations.

Toulon surrendered on the 19 December 1793; and three days later Napoleon established his headquarters at Marseille, where, on the 26th, he received orders to inspect the coast from the mouths of the Rhône to those of the Var.

During the first days of 1794, Napoleon spent his time between Toulon, where Joseph was now employed in the commissariat of the Navy, and Marseille, where his mother and sisters were living. On the 7 January he was confirmed in his grade of brigadier-general; at the same time he was made commander-in-chief of the artillery of the Army of Italy, and placed in charge of the coast defences. He then established his headquarters at Nice, in order to prepare for a campaign in Piedmont. He attached Louis at first to his staff, but later gave him a position as second-lieutenant in a company of artillery at Saint-Tropez. In the spring, when his duties called him to the vicinity of Antibes, he brought his mother and sisters to that place, and installed them in the Château-Sallé.

Madame Bonaparte was glad to leave Marseille, where the conduct of her two elder girls, Élisa and Pauline, had caused her no little anxiety. Although she was in many respects an admirable mother, she seems to have had but little influence over her daughters. Élisa, who was now sixteen, was the only one of the family who had no pretensions to beauty. Her friend Rœderer describes her as " of middle stature, thin, flat-chested, with slender arms, a fine leg, and pretty feet; regular features, a classic profile, black hair, a rather clear skin, beautiful teeth, and an extremely mobile countenance." [12]

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[11] The first two promotions were made by Salicetti, who for a time was alone at Toulon; but the other Representatives were present when the last appointment was made.

Pauline, who was now nearly fourteen, and already mature, like most of the Corsican girls of that age, was a very different person from her somewhat masculine sister. With her small classic head, her pure oval face, her lovely hazel eyes, her clear olive complexion, and " the bust and shoulders of a goddess," she was the most charming creature possible to imagine. Mme. d'Abrantès says that " it is impossible to form a correct idea of what this extraordinary woman was in the perfection of her loveliness "; Ricard declares her to have been " a marvellous beauty "; and both Mme. de Rémusat and Mme. Ducrest express the opinion that she was the most beautiful woman they ever beheld. From all accounts, it appears that she was an incomparable beauty: " there was not the slightest imperfection in her delicious face, to which she joined an elegant figure and the most seductive grace."

After making all allowances for the malice of enemies and the exaggerations of gossip, it must be admitted that the conduct of the two elder Bonaparte girls at Marseille had been the reverse of discreet. Ricard, who was a frequent visitor to the Bonaparte house, says: " Opinion at Marseille was not favorable to them: it attributed to them gallant and even scandalous adventures." [13]

He is confirmed by Mme. de Rémusat, who writes: " These young ladies showed that they had not been brought up in the severity of a very scrupulous morality; . . . and the unpleasant anecdotes, imprudently repeated by certain Provençals, always militated against the interests of all Provence, so far as the Emperor was concerned." [14]

During the sojourn of Madame Bonaparte at Antibes, two of her sons were married. On the 4 May 1794, Lucien espoused Catherine Boyer, sister of a small innkeeper, with whom he lodged at Saint-Maximin. Although Catherine, or Christine, as Lucien always called her, was of common origin, she was a very sweet, pretty girl, and made him an excellent wife. He was entirely devoted to her, and her early death practically ruined his entire career.

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[12] Rœderer, *Œuvres.*

[13] Ricard, *Autour des Bonaparte,* 110.

[14] Rémusat, 1 *Mémoires,* 128.

If Madame Bonaparte was indignant on hearing of the *mésalliance* of Lucien, she was much pleased over the marriage of Joseph. On the first of August, he married Julie Clary, daughter of a wealthy soap-boiler of Marseille, who brought him a dot of 150,000 francs, equivalent to about a million and a half to-day. At the same time there was some talk of another marriage, between Napoleon and Julie's sister,[15] but nothing came of it.

Julie was not very prepossessing: she had "a villainous figure, a flat nose, and a shapeless mouth"; but she was a very worthy, sensible young woman, and the size of her dot, in the eyes of the Bonapartes, fully made up for her lack of beauty.

At the time of his marriage, Joseph was twenty-six years old. He was a handsome young man: tall and slender, with regular and imposing features. He had received a good education, and his language was polished. He had less character in his face than Napoleon, but, at that time, was far more attractive.

At this moment, when the fortunes of the Bonapartes seemed assured, there came a most unexpected blow. On the 9 Thermidor (27 July), Robespierre fell. As soon as the news reached Nice, about a week later, Napoleon, who was considered a protégé of the dictator, or rather of his younger brother, Augustin, was put under arrest, and confined in a fortress near Antibes. However, no compromising matters were found among his papers, and he was soon released. Three weeks later, he was formally reinstated in his rank.

Napoleon passed the remainder of the year 1794 at Marseille, Toulon, and Nice, or in the vicinity of those places, in the performance of his duties as inspector of the coasts. He also took part in some minor military operations against the Austro-

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[15] Désirée Clary afterwards married Bernadotte, and became the ancestress of the present royal family of Sweden.

Sardinian forces. After his reinstatement in his rank, in September, Salicetti put him in charge of the preparations for an expedition to recover Corsica from the English. The French fleet finally set sail on the 3 March 1795, but encountered an English squadron off Cape Noli, and was compelled to return to port, ten days later, with the loss of two vessels. To his intense disgust, Napoleon found that, during his absence, he had been superseded in his position as inspector.[16]

On the 7 May 1795, when he was on a visit to his family at Marseille, Napoleon received an order from the Committee of Public Safety to take command of the artillery of the Army of the West. He set out for Paris the following day, accompanied by his aides de camp, Junot, Marmont, and Louis. En route, he visited friends at several places, and passed four days with the father of Marmont, at Châtillon-sur-Seine. Here he received bad news from Paris. Following the events of Prairial (21 May), all of the friends upon whom he counted were in disgrace: Salicetti and Ricard were proscribed, Barras was under attack, and Fréron was entirely discredited. The new Minister of War, Aubry, put Napoleon on half-pay, but finally consented to confide to him a brigade of infantry.

Napoleon hastened to Paris, where he arrived on the 25 May. After collecting, on the 15 June, his travelling expenses, 2640 livres, upon which he could live for some time, he obtained permission to remain at Paris temporarily. He had no liking for the work of suppressing the Royalist uprising in La Vendée, in which the Army of the West was engaged, and he considered his transfer to the infantry almost as a disgrace. On the 23 June, he wrote Joseph: " I am employed as general of brigade in the Army of the West, but not in the artillery. I am ill, and have been obliged to take a leave of two or three months; when my health is reëstablished, I shall decide what to do." At the same time, to show his intention of joining his command, he sent his horses to the Vendée, in charge of a servant of Junot.

This illness of Napoleon was real, and not feigned for the purpose of securing a leave of absence. At the siege of Toulon, he had exposed himself with the greatest bravery: he had a horse killed under him, and received, during the final attack, a bayonet thrust in the thigh — a wound so severe that for a moment it was thought necessary to amputate his leg.

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[16] Schuermans, 19–26.

During the siege, he also had another misadventure which, although not so dangerous, had an unfavorable effect on his health. A gunner in one of the batteries was killed in the presence of Napoleon, who seized the rammer and himself charged the piece several times. A few days later, he had an eruption on his hands which bore all the marks of the scabies; and it was ascertained that the gunner had been afflicted with this malady. Napoleon was not entirely free from this trouble for several years; and he suffered nearly his entire life from chronic eczema, which was largely due to his arthritic temperament.[17]

"At this period of his life," relates Mme. d'Abrantès, "Napoleon was so plain, he took so little care of himself, that his uncombed and unpowdered hair gave him a disagreeable appearance. I can still see him, entering the court of the Hôtel de la Tranquillité, traversing it with awkward and uncertain steps, a miserable round hat pulled down over his eyes, and letting escape his two *oreilles de chien,* which fell upon his iron-grey redingote; his hands long, thin, and black, without gloves, which, he said, were a useless expense; wearing boots ill-made, and unpolished; his whole appearance, with his yellow complexion, and his thinness, giving him a sickly air." [18]

During the following three months, the fortunes of Napoleon were at their lowest ebb. The Committee of Public Safety refused to consider his pleas for reinstatement in the artillery, and grudgingly granted him, from time to time, extensions of his sick-leave. His little staff was dispersed: Marmont secured employment in the Army of the Rhine; Louis, a place in the military school at Châlons; and only Junot remained. Napoleon occupied a miserable room, at three francs a week, in the Hôtel du Cadran-Bleu; he breakfasted on a cup of coffee, and dined for twenty-five sous at the Café Cuisinier, near the Pont

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[17] See Cabanès, 90–97.

[18] 1 Abrantès, 179. See also, Stendhal, *Vie de Napoléon.*

Saint-Michel. He was so depressed that he seriously thought of suicide.[19]

In August, he received a formal order to join his command, and rushed to see Barras, Fréron, and other friends, to have the order withdrawn. On the 18th, he was given work in the topographical bureau of the division of the Committee of Public Safety which was charged with preparing plans of campaigns, and at once began his service. It was at this time that he drew up a plan for a campaign in Italy, which was contemptuously rejected by the two generals in command there: Kellermann said that it was the work of a lunatic, and Schérer wrote that the idiot who proposed such a scheme should be sent to carry it out. A year later, this same imbecile was to put the plan into operation, and thereby win undying fame!

On the 15 September, by formal order of the Committee of Public Safety, the name of Bonaparte was "stricken from the list of generals in active service, on account of his refusal to join the post assigned him," in the Army of the West. About this same date, Napoleon secured the permission of the War Department to go to Turkey for the purpose of organizing the army of the Sultan.

But in the midst of all his troubles, Napoleon never for a moment lost sight of the interests of his family: "You know," he wrote Joseph, "that I live only for the pleasure I can give them." He was much disappointed that he could not secure a renewal of Joseph's appointment in the commissariat; but Joseph was no longer dependent on the salary. Lucien had been denounced by some of his enemies, and imprisoned at Aix. Napoleon secured his release, and sent him money to come to Paris, where he arrived the last of September. He took great interest in the studies of Louis at Châlons, and wrote of him in terms of almost paternal blindness. He tried, but in vain, to find a school for Jérôme, who was now nearly eleven years old. All the *pensions* had been closed, and no one knew what to do regarding the education of the children who were growing up.[20]

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[19] 1 Masson, 112–113.

[20] 1 Masson, 114–117.

At this moment there came a sudden and dramatic change in the fortunes of Napoleon. On the 13 Vendémiaire An IV of the Republic (5 October 1795), exactly three weeks from the day that his name was struck off the list of active officers, the "Committees of Public Safety and General Security, sitting together, decree that General Buonaparte shall be employed in the Army of the Interior, under the orders of the representative of the people, Barras, general-in-chief of this army."

Since the month of December 1794, a commission had been working on a new Constitution — the third in five years. The legislative powers, under the provisions of this instrument, were to be vested in two chambers: the Council of the Ancients, to number 250, and the Council of Five-Hundred — following the bicameral arrangement of the American government. These two chambers were to elect five Directors, to whom the executive powers were to be confided.

Conscious of its unpopularity, and wishing to prolong its existence, the Convention passed a decree providing that "two-thirds of the deputies of the new Corps Législatif must be chosen among the outgoing members of the Assembly."

This outrageous decree produced a storm of indignation in Paris. After the announcement of the adoption of the Constitution, on the 23 September, the excitement in the capital continued to increase, and 32 of the 48 Sections of the city rose in revolt. For its protection the Convention had in Paris only about 500 gendarmes and 1500 volunteers. In anticipation of trouble, the Government ordered some 4000 troops in camp at Marly, below Paris, to march to the Sablons, behind Chaillot, near the present Bois de Boulogne; and later they were brought into the city. Their commander, Menou, showed great incapacity, and Barras was appointed in his place.

On the evening of the 12 Vendémiaire (4 October), Napoleon had attended the Théâtre Feydeau. When he left at the end of the performance, he said to his companion, Junot, "If the Sections were to put me at their head, I would undertake, myself, to put them in the Tuileries in two hours, and to chase out these miserable Conventionnels." Two hours later, at one o'clock in the morning, Napoleon was in the Tuileries, but as General of the Convention!

Feeling his own incompetence as a military leader, as soon as he was placed in command Barras had thought of the young artillery officer who had gained such distinction at Toulon, and sent messengers in every direction in search of Bonaparte. Before accepting the command which was offered him, Napoleon requested time for reflection.

"Three minutes only," replied Barras.

"Very well," said Napoleon, "I accept; but I warn you that, the sword once out of its sheath, I shall not replace it until I have reëstablished order."

"That is also my understanding."

"Then, there is no time to be lost: minutes now are hours."

The troops of Menou were posted around the Tuileries, but their cannon had been left at the Sablons. Napoleon immediately despatched Major Murat with 300 troopers to secure the guns, and he arrived just in time to prevent their seizure by the insurgents. By six o'clock in the morning, Napoleon had placed the cannon at the points which commanded the approaches to the Tuileries.

It was a chilly, rainy morning, and the weather dampened the brave spirits of the patriots. At four o'clock in the afternoon, when the rain ceased, the Sectionalists advanced to the attack. The battle was short, and not very sanguinary. The guns, well posted, enfiladed all the streets leading to the Château. The courage of the insurgents could not withstand such brutal and unprecedented treatment, and they fled in all directions. This was the famous "whiff of grape-shot," which, Carlyle says, "ended the French Revolution." Bonaparte had entered on the scene of History!

CHAPTER THREE

OCTOBER 1795 — JULY 1797

THREE MARRIAGES

Napoleon, General of the Army of the Interior — His Care of His Family — Exactions of the Clan — Marriage of Napoleon — The Hôtel Chantereine — Joséphine's Children — Napoleon's Brief Honeymoon — Rage of the Bonaparte Family — Mme. Letitia's Letter to Joséphine — Joseph's Attitude — Napoleon's Jealousy — His Letters to Joséphine — She Joins Him in Italy — Joseph in Corsica — Napoleon at Montebello — Pauline and Fréron — Affairs of Lucien — Louis in the Army — Marriage of Élisa — Wedding of Pauline and Leclerc — Dispersal of the Family — Joseph, Ambassador to Rome — Fortunes of the Bonapartes

THE revolt of the Sections suppressed, Napoleon's first thought was to communicate the news of his victory to his family. On the 14 Vendémiaire, at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote Joseph, giving a succinct report of the operations:

At last, all is over; and my first task is to send you news of myself. The Royalists, mobilized in sections, became bolder from day to day; the Convention gave orders to disarm the Lepelletier Section, which repulsed the troops; Menou, who was in command, they say, was a traitor: he was at once relieved. The Convention put Barras in charge of its troops, and the Committees named me for the second in command. We arranged our forces. The enemy advanced to attack us at the Tuileries; we killed many of them; our losses were thirty killed and sixty wounded. We have disarmed the Sections, and all is tranquil. As usual, I was not wounded. Fortune is on my side. My regards to Eugénie and to Julie.[1]

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[1] Julie was the wife of Joseph, and Eugénie was her sister, Désirée-Eugénie Clary, to whom, according to Schuermans (26), Napoleon was engaged at Marseille in April 1795.

At the age of twenty-six, in one day, Napoleon had passed from obscurity and poverty to fame and wealth. On the 5 October 1795 he was a general of brigade on the retired list, appointed to the temporary rank of second in command of the Army of the Interior; on the 16th, he was a major-general; and on the 26th, general-in-chief of the Army of the Interior. The security of the nation is in his charge, but he displays no sense of embarrassment, no vain-glory: he is the same modest, unassuming man, whose first thought is for his family. He writes Joseph that the family shall want for nothing — that he is sending them a supply of money. Between the 17 November and the 11 January, in four remittances, he sends his mother and sisters over fifty thousand francs, besides robes, and other toilet articles. He even thinks of arranging for his family to come to Paris; but this idea is soon abandoned, for reasons which will presently appear.

Although overwhelmed with public affairs, Napoleon also found time to look after the interests of his brothers. Joseph had asked for a position as consul: Napoleon drew up the papers, recommended him to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and secured the support of Barras, now a Director. Then Joseph wished to take an interest in the fitting-out of two corsairs, and Napoleon sent him letters of marque. Again, Joseph was tired of Genoa, and Napoleon writes him to come to Paris, where he will find, with his brother, " lodgement, table, and a carriage at his command," and will have " the time to amuse himself, and to do whatever he wishes."

It was more difficult to decide what to do with Lucien — to find a position which would support him, and at the same time give him the least possible opportunity of compromising himself once more. Wishing to do something " to be useful to him," Napoleon, without having any very definite plan in mind, called him from Aix to Paris. Immediately after Vendémiaire, Fréron, who had failed of election to the new Assembly, was sent on a mission to the provinces, to tranquillize the Royalist reactions, and Napoleon arranged with him to take Lucien in his suite. But this was only a temporary position, and, the last of October, Napoleon secured from the Committee of Public Safety the appointment of his brother as a *commissaire des guerres* with the Army of the North. Lucien arrived again at Paris from Marseille the latter part of November, but the attractions of the capital were so strong, for this young man of twenty-one years, that it was the 8 February 1796 before he set out to take up his new duties. "I would have renounced all," he wrote, "rather than separate myself from the public tribunals."

On the 26 October, Napoleon had Louis named as lieutenant in his old artillery regiment, the Fourth, and two weeks later gave him a place as aide de camp on his staff. At Paris, Louis was his brother's mess-mate, his private secretary, his man of confidence; and accompanied him everywhere. Later, in his *Mémoires,* Louis, as usual, gave a very mendacious account of his doings at this period.

At the end of the year, Napoleon was finally able to carry out his plans for the education of Jérôme, whom he had had brought from Marseille, and placed in a college, where "he learns Latin, mathematics, drawing, music, and so forth — all at the expense of the big brother."

Thus, no one has been forgotten, and Napoleon can write truly: *"I cannot do more than I am doing for all."* In the midst of all his cares, the advancement of his family seems to be his main preoccupation; and, it must be said, there is no end to their exactions. But, writes M. Masson, "Let no one be astonished at this mode of action on the part of the Bonapartes: they are a *clan,* and Napoleon is the man of the clan."[2]

Following the 13 Vendémiaire, as stated by Napoleon in his letter to Joseph, vigorous measures were taken to disarm the Sections. It was then that the young Eugène de Beauharnais called at the quarters of General Bonaparte in the Rue des Capucines[3] to reclaim his father's sword. This led to the first meeting between Napoleon and Joséphine. The mother of Eugène, who was doubtless curious to see the hero of Vendémiaire, seized this opportunity to call and thank the General, and they were soon on very intimate terms.

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[2] 1 Masson, 131.

[3] This building, which later became the Hôtel Wagram, was at the corner of the rue and the boulevard des Capucines; it is now Nos. 20–24 of the Rue des Capucines.

It is not known at what date Napoleon proposed marriage to the fascinating Creole, who had won his heart at first sight, but their banns were published at the mayor's office on the 9 February 1796. In the meantime, Joséphine had continued her liaison with Barras, as is plainly shown by a letter she wrote from his house at Chaillot on the 13 February; and it was not until ten days after that date that she finally gave a reluctant consent to Napoleon's pleadings.

Napoleon was then living at No. 1, Rue d'Antin, and Joséphine at No. 6, Rue Chantereine,[4] a few blocks away.

The marriage contract was drawn up on the afternoon of the 8 March 1796, at the office of Joséphine's notary, Maître Raguideau, in the Rue Saint-Honoré. Napoleon declared that he possessed no property of any kind, other than his " wardrobe and war-equipment, of the value of. . . ." Nevertheless, as he had confidence in his future, he assured " to his future wife a dowery of 1500 francs in a life-annuity." The Citizeness Beauharnais was no richer: all that she possessed was to belong to the *communauté* which existed between herself and the late M. de Beauharnais. The original of this contract is preserved to-day in the office of the successor of the notary. The signatures alone give it some interest: that of *Napolione Buonaparte,* hastily written, underlined with a heavy stroke, and almost illegible, contrasted with that of Joséphine — *M.-J.-R. Tascher,* traced in her clear calligraphy. This formality completed, the fiancés separated, to meet again the following evening at eight o'clock, at the mairie of the Rue d'Antin, where the civil marriage was to take place.[5]

At this period, the mairie of the Second Arrondissement of

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[4] The Rue d'Antin, which must not be confused with the Chaussée-d'Antin, was a short street, running from the Rue de La Fayette to the Rue de Provence, near the present Opéra. Chantereine, now known as the Rue de la Victoire, was a street recently laid out from the Faubourg Montmartre to the Chaussée-d'Antin. It was lined with the residences of *filles entretenues.* The hôtel of Joséphine, demolished in 1857, is represented to-day by No. 60 of the Rue de la Victoire.

[5] Lenotre, 1 *Vieilles maisons, vieux papiers,* 183–184.

Paris was located in the vast Hôtel Mondragon, at No. 3, Rue d'Antin, adjoining the residence of Napoleon.[6] The salon on the first floor, which was the scene of the ceremony, has preserved its sumptuous decorations of the period of the Regency, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was constructed. "From all places full of souvenirs," says Victor Hugo, "there emanates an intoxicating reverie." The mirrors, especially, of old lodgings have reflected the images of so many persons who passed, have guarded so many secrets!

In this salon, at eight o'clock on the evening of Wednesday the 9 March 1796, the foppish director, Barras, the former lover of Joséphine, is talking with the *conventionnel* Tallien, the present lover of Joséphine's rival, the beautiful Thérésia de Fontenoy. These two men are to be Joséphine's witnesses at the marriage. The worthy Camelet, Joséphine's man of confidence, holds himself modestly apart. The bride-elect, with her undefinable *nonchalance* of a Creole, her sweet smile, her amber skin, her chestnut hair, knotted à la Grecque; clad in one of her clinging tunics, which clearly reveals the soft lines of her body, is dreaming, her chin cupped in her hand, while she toasts her small and well-shaped feet before the open fire.

An hour passes, and still another, but Bonaparte does not appear. Is it possible that he is not coming? Joséphine glances anxiously at Barras. The civil officer, Leclercq, who is to perform the ceremony, is dozing in his armchair, behind the desk.

A few minutes after ten o'clock, there is the sound of voices upon the staircase, the clanking of a sabre against the stone steps — the door opens, and the General appears, followed by his aide de camp Lemarois, who is to act, with Camelet, as his witness. Napoleon strides directly to the sleeping magistrate, shakes him by the shoulder, and cries impatiently: "Come now, Monsieur le Maire, marry us quickly."

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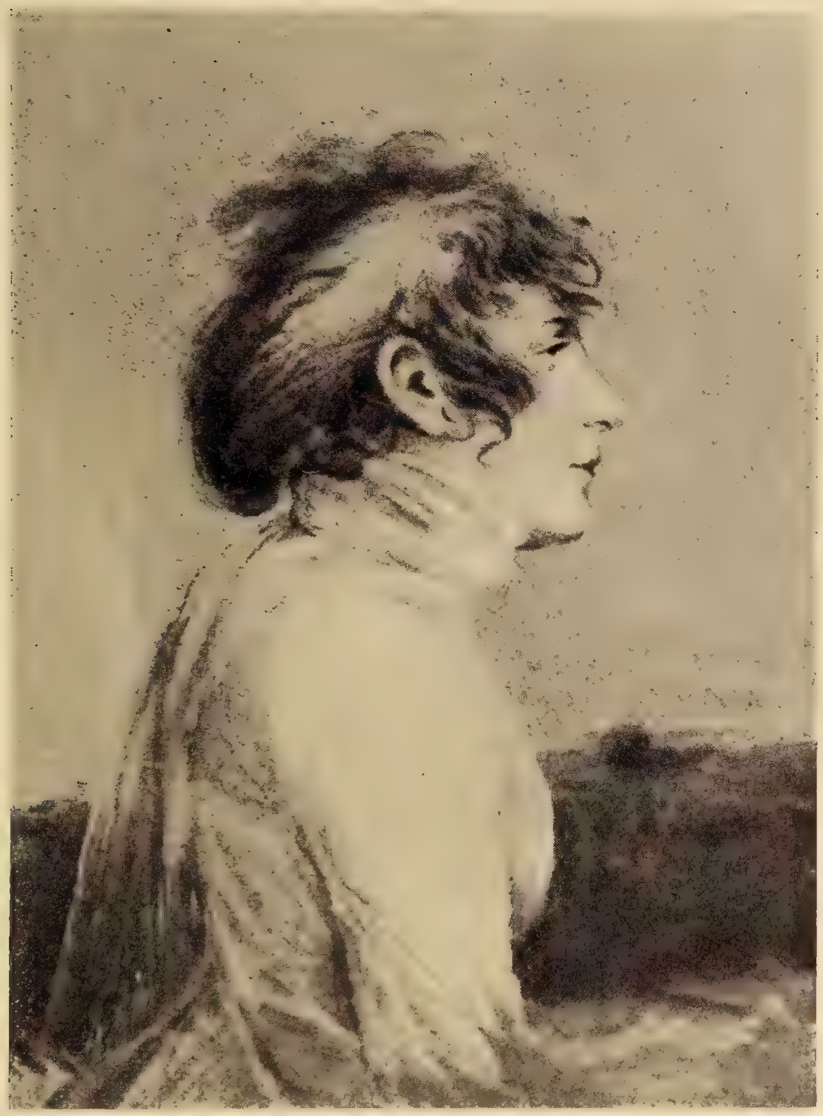
[6] This hôtel, the property of the Marquis de Mondragon, was confiscated during the Revolution, and used for public offices. After the Restoration, it was returned to the former owners, but was leased from them by the City of Paris, and used for the mairie of the Second Arrondissement until the early years of the reign of Louis-Philippe. The building now belongs to the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, and the salon where the marriage was performed is the office of one of the executives.

If the text of the marriage certificate is correctly reproduced in the *Mémoires* of Bourrienne, it was indeed a strange document. Napoleon produced an *état-civil* stating that he was *born at Paris the 5 February 1768,* thus adding eighteen months to his age. On the other hand, Joséphine submitted a certificate from Camelet, who had sworn before a notary that "he knew Marie-Josèphe Tascher, widow of the citizen Beauharnais; that she was a native of the island of Martinique, in the Windward Islands; and that, at this moment, it was impossible for him to procure her birth-certificate, on account of the actual occupation of the island by the British." Armed with this declaration, Joséphine was able to state that she was born on the 23 June 1766, thus taking three years off her actual age. Napoleon had made himself older, through gallantry; Joséphine had represented herself as younger, through coquetterie; but who then thought that these papers, so hastily and so carelessly drawn up, would ever be resurrected from the dusty archives of the State!

The bride and groom descended the stairway, followed by their witnesses; Barras entered his carriage, to return to the Luxembourg; Tallien took a fiacre for his home at Chaillot; Camelet and Lemarois walked away, toward the military headquarters. Joséphine also had her carriage, with two handsome black horses — the famous equipage which, through the influence of Barras, she had obtained eight months before, from the Committee of Public Safety, in recompense for the horses and carriages left by Beauharnais in 1794 at Strasbourg, when he was so summarily removed from the command of the Army of the Rhine. It was in this carriage that Napoleon rode to his wife's house, in the Rue Chantereine.

This famous hôtel, afterwards purchased by Napoleon, was then the property of the wife of the actor Talma, Julie Carreau, from whom Joséphine had leased it at the beginning of her liaison with Barras, the previous August. At the end of a long passage, through the porte-cochère, stood a small detached villa, consisting only of a ground-floor, with an attic above, and kitchen and cellar below. A semi-circular flight of steps, flanked



JOSÉPHINE
(*sketch by David*)

by two stone lions, gave access to an oval dining-room; at the right was a boudoir, paved with mosaic; at the left, a small *cabinet de travail;* at the back, a salon, which, by two *portes-fenêtres,* opened upon the garden. A steep, winding staircase led to the attic-floor, low of ceiling, composed of a salon, a bedroom, and an alcove. The bedroom, above the dining-room, and also oval in shape, was lined with mirrors, from floor to ceiling. In the grounds, there were two small pavilions which contained the carriage-house and stable. In her service, besides the coachman, Joséphine had a chef and a femme de chambre.

The day following her marriage, Joséphine took her new husband to Saint-Germain, to see her children, who had been in school there since the previous summer. Eugène was in a college directed by an Irishman, Patrick MacDermott; Hortense was at the famous school of Madame Campan. Napoleon had never seen either of the children but once before: Eugène, the day he came to ask for his father's sword, and Hortense, one evening in January, when she was brought from school to dine with Barras at the Luxembourg. On that occasion, she conceived a great dislike for her future step-father, which it took her several years to overcome.

The honeymoon of Napoleon lasted barely thirty-six hours. On Friday morning, a chaise de poste entered the court of the Hôtel Chantereine; it was immediately charged with the luggage and the arms of the General; and his travelling companions, Junot and Chauvet, took their places. Finally, Napoleon tore himself from the arms of his bride, entered the carriage, made a sign of adieu, and the chaise de poste took the direction of the Barrier of Italy. Thus began the " famous voyage," which was to end at Saint Helena twenty years later![7]

No words can describe the rage and dismay of the Bonaparte clan when they learned that Napoleon had married the widow Beauharnais. Anticipating the storm that was sure to follow, Napoleon had kept them all in ignorance of his plans. He had not asked his mother's consent, as required by the French Civil Law; he had not written a word to Joseph; he had hastened the departure of Lucien for his post, and despatched Louis to Châtillon, so as to have these two brothers away from Paris.

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[7] 1 Lenotre, 190–192.

The marriage threatened the interests of the whole family, who looked to Napoleon to satisfy all their wants — money for his mother to hoard up, lucrative positions for his brothers, dots for his sisters. And now he was wedded — not to an ugly and rich little bourgeoise of simple tastes, like Julie Clary; not to a pretty, but ignorant child of the people, like Catherine Boyer; but to a *ci-devant* vicomtesse, needy, frivolous, and extravagant, "an old woman with two grown-up children," and, worst of all, in the eyes of Madame Letitia, one who was probably too old to bear any more! To a woman of Corsica, such a marriage was little less than a crime. Before the family had set eyes on Joséphine, they "hated her as only Corsicans can hate, and declared against her and her children as bitter, as unscrupulous a vendetta as ever was waged among the *maquis* of their native island — a vendetta which was to ruin Napoleon's domestic peace, divide the Consular and Imperial courts into two factions, and to continue until the interloper had been driven away."[8]

En route for his headquarters at Nice, where he arrived on the 26 March, Napoleon spent two days with his mother and sisters at Marseille. The object of his visit was to reconcile his family to the marriage, and persuade his mother to answer a letter which he bore from Joséphine. Letitia did not dare to refuse, but it was more than a week after his departure before she addressed to Joséphine, on the first of April, the following cold and formal epistle:

To the Citoyenne La Pagerie-Buonaparte,
Rue Chantereine, 6, Paris

MARSEILLE, 12 Germinal, An IV

I have received your letter, Madame, which could only strengthen the opinion that I had formed of you. My son has informed me of his happy union, and, from that moment, you possess my esteem and my approval. Nothing is wanting to my happiness save the satisfaction of seeing you. Be assured that I feel for you all of a mother's tenderness, and that I love you as much as my own children. My son gives me the hope, and your letter confirms me in it, that you will pass through Marseille in going to join him. I rejoice, Madame, in the pleasure that your sojourn here will afford me. My daughters join with me in hoping that you will hasten the happy moment of your journey. In the meantime, be assured that my children, following my example, have vowed for you the same friendship and tenderness that they feel for their brother. Believe, Madame, in the attachment and affection of

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[8] 1 Noel-Williams, 126.

LETIZIA BUONAPARTE MÈRE

As Madame Bonaparte never succeeded in acquiring more than an imperfect knowledge of the French language, the phraseology and correct orthography of this letter go to show, as M. Masson suggests, that it was probably the work of a family council; while the delay in sending it is to be accounted for by the fact that it had to be submitted to Joseph at Genoa.

Aside from the family interests, Joseph felt a personal disappointment in the marriage of his brother, as it put an end to the hopes that he had long cherished, of an alliance between Napoleon and Désirée Clary — a marriage which would have consolidated their interests and united their fortunes. On hearing of Napoleon's arrival at Albenga, Joseph came there from Genoa to meet him on the 7 April. "My brother is here," wrote Napoleon to Joséphine. "He has learned of my marriage with pleasure. He is very anxious to meet you. I am trying to persuade him to go to Paris. His wife has just presented him with a little girl.[9] He sends you as a present some Genoa bonbons."

The following day, Joseph decided himself to write Joséphine, dating his letter from Genoa (which is fifty miles from Albenga) in order doubtless to give it an air of greater spontaneity:

[9] Joseph's first child, Julie-Joseph, born at Genoa in April 1796.

Madame, I have learned with the warmest interest of your marriage to my brother. The friendship which unites me to him does not permit me to be insensible to the happiness which he will find with you. Of this, I am as well persuaded as he himself, from the opinion which I have formed of you. Accept, I beg, the assurance of the fraternal feelings with which I sign myself

Your brother-in-law
JOSEPH

This brief and formal note clearly shows that Joseph had not recovered from his disappointment, and that he was far from being " anxious " to meet his new sister; but, at least, the *convenances* were respected.

As he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by keeping on good terms with his brother, Joseph decided to remain at headquarters, and he made no mistake. The famous Campaign of Italy began on the 12 April, and exactly fifteen days later, at Cherasco, Napoleon received from General Colli a request for an armistice. This was at once accorded, and Napoleon sent Joseph, with his aide de camp Junot, to Paris in order to explain to the Directory the secret motives which had influenced him, and obtain their approval. " Thus," writes M. Masson, " at one stroke, without any title from the Government, without having rendered any services personally, Joseph, who two weeks before was engaged in business at Genoa, by Napoleon, upon his own responsibility, upon his own private authority, is initiated in the gravest secrets of the State, is even constituted the plenipotentiary of the victor of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovi." [10]

Joseph was the bearer of the following letter from Napoleon to Joséphine:

My brother will hand you this letter. I have for him the most tender friendship. He will obtain, I hope, your own: he merits it. Nature has endowed him with a heart kind and unchangeably good: he has very many fine qualities. *I have written*

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[10] 1 Masson, 116.

Barras to appoint him consul in some Italian port. He wishes to live with his little wife far from the great whirlpool and large affairs.

The principal object which Napoleon had in view, however, in despatching Joseph to Paris, was to have him look after Joséphine, and hasten her departure for Italy. Disquieting rumors of his wife's conduct since his departure had reached Napoleon in Italy, and in the midst of all his triumphs his heart was tormented with jealousy. "What are you doing?" he writes. "Why do you not come to me? If it be a lover who detains you, beware of the poniard of Othello!" And Joséphine, reading the letter to her friends, says with her funny Creole accent, "*Il est drôle, Bonaparte!*"

Napoleon's letter from Bologna on the 20 June 1796 is the most important historically, the most interesting and touching, of all the burning love letters that he wrote her during the Campaign of Italy. It reveals the fact, so often disputed, that, prior to their marriage, he fully understood her position, and forgave her conduct in the past. It also clearly shows the nobleness of his character. He had no reproaches to make regarding her former life: his rights over her heart and mind dated only from the hour that she accepted his love and freely gave him her hand; the past no longer counted. This letter is worth quoting in full.[11]

To Joséphine, at Paris

(BOLOGNA, 20 June 1796)

You were to have left Paris on the 5th. You were to have left on the 11th. You had not left on the 12th. My soul had been filled with joy. It is filled with pain. All the couriers arrive without bringing me letters from you. When you write me a few words, your style is never that expressing a deep feeling. You loved me through a light caprice. You already feel how ridiculous it would be were it to remain in your heart. It appears to me that you have made a choice, and that you know to whom to address yourself in order to replace me. I wish you happiness — if frivolity can attain it, not to say perfidy. You have never loved.

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[11] This letter was discovered in 1925 in the old castle of Sagan in Silesia, where it had lain for over a century. It was presented, with four other letters, by Queen Hortense to her friend the Duchesse de Dino, after the death of Joséphine in 1814. It is not included in the "Didot Collection," published by Hortense in 1833, which begins with Napoleon's letter of the 6 July 1796, from Roverbella, after he knew that Joséphine was on her way to Milan.

I had hastened my operations. I calculated that you would be at Milan an the 13th, and you are still at Paris. I take counsel within my own soul. I suppress a sentiment which is unworthy of me, and, if glory does not suffice for my happiness, it forms an element of death and immortality. As for you, may my memory not be odious to you. It is my misfortune to have known you little; yours, to have judged me like the men who surround you.

My heart never felt anything mediocre: it denied itself love. You inspired it with a boundless passion — a frenzy which degraded it. The thought of you was in my soul, above that of the entire world. To me, your caprice was a sacred law. To be able to see you was a supreme joy. You are beautiful, graceful. Your sweet and heavenly soul is painted on your face. I adore everything in you. Had you been more naïve and younger, I should have loved you less. *Everything pleased me — even the memory of your errors, and of the afflicting scene which took place two weeks before our marriage.* Virtue to me was everything that you did. Honor was that which pleased you. Glory could only attract my heart because it was agreeable to you and flattered your conceit. Your portrait was always on my heart. Never a day without seeing it, never an hour without regarding it and covering it with kisses. You, you left my portrait six months without taking it from its recess. Nothing escaped me. If I continued, I should love only you, and of all the rôles this is the sole that I cannot fill.

Joséphine, you would have brought happiness to a man less fantastic than myself. I warn you that you have made me miserable. Cruel one, why have you led me to place hope in a feeling that you do not possess? But reproach is unworthy of me. I have never believed in happiness. Every day death gallops around me. Is life worth making so much fuss?

Adieu, Joséphine. Remain in Paris. Do not write me any more. But at least respect my hearth. A thousand daggers tear my soul: do not drive them in any further. Adieu, my happiness, my love, everything that existed for me on earth!

BONAPARTE

At last, there was an end to all the excuses and pretexts of Joséphine — the false reports of her illness, which drove Napoleon to despair, and of her *grossesse,* which filled his heart with joy. The Directors, in the face of the letters more and more pressing of Bonaparte, became alarmed lest he should throw up his command and rush to Paris. They, too, urged Joséphine to leave for Italy. On the 24 June, the party set out: besides Joséphine, her maid, and three servants, it was composed of Junot, Joseph, Nicolas Clary, and Hippolyte Charles, who was attached to the staff of the adjutant-general of the Army of Italy.

Napoleon was not at Milan to welcome Joséphine upon her arrival, the 9 July: not expecting so prompt a response to his last appeal, he had left the first of July for a visit to Florence, Bologna, and Verona, and did not return until the middle of the month.

At that time, Napoleon was lodged in almost royal state in the Serbelloni Palace, the finest private residence in Milan, and generally considered to be even handsomer than the Royal Palace. Since the opening of the campaign in April his troops had overrun nearly all of Northern Italy, and the remainder of the Imperial army was now blockaded at Mantua. Piedmont had made peace with France; Genoa and Venice, Rome and Naples, had all withdrawn from the coalition.

Except for a brief visit to headquarters before the battle of Castiglione (5 August), Joséphine passed the summer at Milan. While Napoleon was absent, with the army, she was " bored to death " in Italy. In a letter to her aunt,[12] she frankly stated that she did not care for the honors showered upon her, and would rather be a simple private individual in France.[13]

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[12] Madame Renaudin, who had now married her old lover, the Marquis de Beauharnais, father of Joséphine's first husband.

[13] See *Napoleon and Joséphine,* 66–67.

After the battle of Arcole (15–17 November), Napoleon returned to Milan, and spent the month of December with Joséphine in the Serbelloni Palace. This was really their *lune de miel,* as they had been separated nearly all the time since their marriage in April.

With the beginning of the new year, Austria resumed hostilities, and Napoleon again left Milan to join his troops. After the victory of Rivoli (14 January), and the surrender of Mantua (2 February), he moved against the Austrian army, which he forced back to a point only one hundred miles from Vienna. Then at last the Imperial Government made overtures for peace.

When Joseph reached Milan with Joséphine, he learned that Napoleon had been engaged for several weeks in organizing an expedition to recover Corsica from the English. Three months later, under orders from his brother, Joseph himself sailed for Bastia, where he found the revolution an accomplished fact; and when he reached Ajaccio, the tricolor was floating over the citadel. He organized the island in two departments; placed in the new administration all of his family and his friends; and, in April 1797, was unanimously elected deputy to the Council of the Five-Hundred at Paris. When he returned to Italy, he found awaiting him at Milan a decree of the Directory (23 October 1796) naming him minister-resident at Parma, at a salary of 18,000 francs. Such was the value of being the brother of a great man!

At this moment, in the spring of 1797, Napoleon had just brought to a victorious end his final operations in Italy. After having signed the preliminaries of peace at Léoben (18 April), he returned to Milan, and on the 5 May established himself in the magnificent château of Montebello (or Mombello), situated on the old Como road a few miles from the city.[14] It was an imposing square building, standing on a wooded eminence, from which on a clear day the Alps could be seen on one side and the beautiful spires of the Milan cathedral on the other. The gardens were extensive and tastefully laid out, with shady alleys, fountains, and grottoes. The interior of the villa was spacious and well adapted for entertaining.[15]

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[14] Turquan (*La générale Bonaparte,* 118) makes the curious error of confounding this villa with a small town of the same name, about midway between Verona and Vicenza; and he is followed by Sergeant (*Empress Josephine,* 193).

The latter part of January 1797, Napoleon had had Pauline brought to Milan, under the escort of her uncle Fesch, in order to break up a violent love-affair which she was carrying on with Stanislas Fréron.

When the Bonaparte family were living in abject poverty at Marseille, after their arrival from Corsica in the summer of 1793, they had been aided by Barras and Fréron, the commissioners of the Convention, who secured them a pension from the Government. This acquaintance ripened into a warm friendship, and Fréron showed some attentions to Pauline, who was then only a girl of thirteen. But, in March 1794, Fréron returned to Paris, and she saw no more of him until November 1795, when he appeared again at Marseille as commissioner of the Directory, with Lucien in his suite, and the flirtation was renewed.

At this time, Fréron was one of the personages the most *en vue* in the official world. Without talent as a journalist, without éclat as an orator, without value as a politician, without courage as a soldier, during the Revolution he had played nevertheless quite an important rôle. Educated at the famous college of Louis-le-Grand, where he had Camille Desmoulins and Robespierre as fellow-pupils, like them he embraced with ardor the cause of the people. As a member of the Convention, he voted for the death of the King, and for the proscription of the Girondists. After the failure of the Royalist uprising in the South, he had been sent to Marseille, where he caused many of the principal inhabitants to be brought to trial and guillotined. On his return to Paris in 1794, he resumed his seat in the Convention, and took a prominent part in the fall of Robespierre.

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[15] Mombello, converted into an insane asylum, retains to-day but a shadow of its former splendor.

He supported the Convention during the revolt of the 13 Vendémiaire, but failed to obtain a seat in the new Corps Législatif. By way of recompense, however, he secured from the expiring Committee of Public Safety a mission to the South.

At the time of his return to Marseille, Fréron was in his forty-third year. His personal appearance was as unattractive as his political record, but was partly atoned for by the elegance of his dress and manners. Like Robespierre, he had declined to adopt the republican simplicity of attire, and he was the Beau Brummell of the Revolution.

He was notorious for his love-affairs, and for more than four years had had a liaison with a certain demoiselle Masson of the Comédie-Italienne, who had already presented him with two pledges of her affection.

Such was the aged and unprepossessing *roué* who aspired to the hand of the beautiful, fresh, and innocent Pauline Bonaparte, who, for her part, seemed to be quite ready to respond to his advances.[16] At first, Napoleon does not seem to have opposed the match. On the 11 January 1796, he wrote Joseph: "I do not see any objection to Paulette's marriage, *if he is rich.*" But Madame Bonaparte, according to her biographers, Baron Larrey[17] and Madame Tschudi, refused her consent to the union.

While matters were still in this indefinite state, the lovers were allowed to meet very frequently, and to carry on a very active correspondence. In a letter, under date of the 9 March 1796, Pauline writes:

> I swear to thee, dear Stanislas, never to love any one but thee. My heart cannot be shared; it is wholly thine. Who could oppose the union of two souls who seek only happiness, and who find it in loving one another. No, mon ami, neither mamma nor any one can refuse thee my hand.[18]

When Napoleon was in Marseille on the 22 March, he greeted Fréron most cordially, and encouraged his suit. But, a few days later, all of Fréron's hopes were dashed by a summons to return to Paris, to answer for his " anarchical operations " in the South. On reaching the capital, he found that all his former friends had turned against him, and that his career as a public man was ended. This was also the *coup de grâce* to his little romance with Pauline. When the news of Fréron's disgrace reached Napoleon in Italy, he wrote Joseph: " I beg you to arrange Paulette's affairs. I do not intend her to marry Fréron. Tell her this, and have her tell him."

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[16] Barras even says in his *Mémoires* that Pauline lived *maritalement* with Fréron, but this is not probable.

[17] See Larrey, 1 *Madame Mère,* 246.

[18] The letters of Pauline are given in full in Jung, *Bonaparte et son temps.*

At first, both Fréron and Pauline declined to submit; and the more strenuous the opposition, the more tender did Pauline's letters become. Fréron was *her life, her soul, her divinity, her beautiful idol,* and so on. Having exhausted her French vocabulary, in a postscript she uses Italian phrases, of so inflammable a nature as fairly to burn the paper: " I love thee always and most passionately; for ever I love thee, I love thee, my beautiful idol; thou art my heart, tender friend; I love thee, I love thee, I love thee, I love thee, lover so tenderly loved."

In the meantime, Napoleon was becoming more and more incensed at Pauline's obstinacy; and when, at the end of 1796, Fréron became involved in a new and very unpleasant scandal, he seized the opportunity for ending the whole affair. In very peremptory letters to his mother and sister, he insisted that the correspondence should cease; and he arranged for Pauline to come at once to Italy.

In a very tender letter to Napoleon, a remarkable production for a young girl of sixteen, who had received but the scantiest of educations, Pauline finally submitted. She concludes with the words: " Adieu; that is all that I have to say to you. May you be happy, and, in the midst of all these brilliant victories, of all this happiness, recall sometimes the life full of bitterness, and the tears that are shed every day by — P. B."

In all this affair of Pauline, Lucien had taken the part of the lovers — on general principles, because he was always in opposition to Napoleon, and also because he was friendly to Fréron. A brief résumé of his life during this period is alone enough to establish the character of the man. After his appointment as commissioner with the Army of the North, in October 1795, as already stated, he did not leave Paris for his post until over three months later. Tiring of his duties, at the end of a few weeks he returned to Paris, and from there proceeded to Italy, to join his brother. All of this was done without leave, and contrary to the wishes of Napoleon. Nevertheless, his brother acceded to his desires, and secured him a similar position at Marseille, where he arrived in June 1796. Three weeks later, we find him once more in Paris, again without permission. As soon as Napoleon learned of this latest escapade, he wrote Carnot (9 August): " I beg you to render me the real service of having this young man ordered to return immediately to his post." Carnot issued the order, as requested, but this time sent Lucien to the Army of the Rhine. He left Paris so hurriedly, with his wife, who was *enceinte,* that she had a miscarriage at Strasbourg.

Lucien did not like his new post, and pestered Carnot and Barras with demands to be sent back to Marseille. In a letter to Carnot (25 October 1796), Napoleon opposed the idea of sending Lucien to the South of France, on account of his Jacobin tendencies, and suggested Corsica, which was open. The order was accordingly issued, and Lucien went to Marseille, where he tarried a month, before proceeding to his new post. The middle of March, he was finally installed at Ajaccio; but, the last of April we find him on board a vessel anchored a few leagues from Hyères. It so happened that, at this moment, the officers of the garrison there were preparing a fête in honor of the victories of the Army of Italy, and the *young warrior* was sent an invitation. This placed Lucien in a very embarrassing position, as Napoleon would be sure to learn that he had again left his post without permission, and might think, furthermore, that he was stealing his brother's laurels. He therefore declined the invitation, in a very clever letter.

Regretting the quarrels with his brother, which were standing in the way of his advancement, and fearing to make any approaches himself toward a reconciliation, Lucien now took advantage of the coming of another child, to have his wife write Napoleon to ask his permission to name the infant for him, and to have him act as godfather. This step, concerted with all the members of the family, was decisive, and Lucien was restored to grace. A few months later he was promoted to the grade of *commissaire ordonnateur,* corresponding to chef d'escadron (major) in the army, and carrying with it a salary of 8000 francs, besides an allowance of 3000 francs for quarters and rations. Furthermore, before his departure for Egypt, Napoleon authorized him to stand for election to the Corps Législatif — an authorization which ensured his election.

If Napoleon had good reason to be dissatisfied with Lucien, he found in Louis all the qualities which he could desire. As a member of his staff, he did not spare Louis the hardest work, and the most perilous assignments. At the passage of the Po, Louis was one of the first, with Lannes; and at Pavia, every one remarked his sang-froid. On the eve of Castiglione, Napoleon sent him to Paris, to report to the Directory, and at this time wrote Carnot: "I recommend to you that one of my brothers who is my aide de camp, whom I sent you on the eve of the battle of Lonato; this worthy young man will deserve all the marks of regard which you can show him." This letter assured Louis a warm welcome, and the grade of captain in the Fifth Hussards.

He returned to headquarters in October 1796, in time to take part in the battles of Brenta, Caldiero, and Arcole. The second day of Arcole, Napoleon sent him with an order to General Robert, which necessitated his traversing a road swept by the fire of the Austrians. Louis escaped almost by a miracle; gave the order, with the utmost calmness, and then returned, unscathed, by the same route. His brother could not repress a movement of joy and surprise: "I was afraid you were killed," he said. On the field of battle, and elsewhere, Napoleon always maintained this same air of impassibility.

Up to the end of this first campaign in Italy, Louis was always in excellent health, gay and lively: a bon vivant, and a charming companion. But, at Milan, in January 1797, he contracted a terrible disease, which affected, not only his physical, but also his moral character, and ruined his entire career. He became morose, and hypochondriac; and spent the remainder of his life mainly in searching for relief in the watering-places of France and Germany. He was unable to follow his brother in the final Italian campaign, and in April was despatched by Napoleon to Paris, to convey the news of the peace. At this time, neither his brother, nor any one else, realized this transformation in the character of Louis.

At Montebello, in June 1797, there was a reunion of nearly all the members of the Bonaparte family, and Madame Bonaparte came from Marseille, to secure Napoleon's approval of the marriage of Élisa, which had been contracted without his knowledge or consent.

Since the incipient love-affair with Admiral Truguet, at Ajaccio in 1792, no aspirant had presented himself for the hand of Élisa, who was now twenty — an age at which the girls of Corsica, so early mature, considered themselves almost *vieilles filles*. She was the only one of the Bonapartes, boys or girls, who had no pretentions to beauty. Very tall, extremely thin, with dark hair, prominent brown eyes, a large mouth, but fine teeth, she had nothing feminine in her air, her form, or her features. Her serious mind, and her masculine form, inspired respect, rather than admiration. She was one of those strange beings, who, without possessing the qualities of the other sex, had lost the charms of her own.[19]

She had been baptized Marianna, but had taken the name of Élisa, by which she was afterwards known, at Marseille in 1794. Monsieur Masson thinks that she owed this name to Lucien, who had a perfect mania for baptizing women according to his fancy: he had changed the name of his wife from Catherine to Christine, and it was probably he who transformed his sister Annunziata into Caroline. In her disposition Élisa much resembled Lucien, "that great man, persecuted and misunderstood"; and, like him, she was constantly in opposition to Napoleon; but she concealed her feelings with more tact.

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[19] 1 Masson, 178.

A suitor had finally presented himself, in the person of Félix Bacciochi,[20] of a poor but noble family of Genoa. He was warmly received by Élisa, who was tired of her single estate, although he possessed but few qualities to recommend him as a brother-in-law of the Conqueror of Italy. He was thirty-five years of age, and had taken fifteen years to gain his grade of captain. Worse than all this, however, he was a friend and near relative of the family of Pozzo di Borgo, and at Ajaccio had always sided against the Bonapartes. In Corsica, these things are not forgotten; but, for Élisa, he was a husband, and that was enough. By Madame Bonaparte, he was accepted, simply because he was a Corsican.

The mother and daughter both wrote Napoleon, to ask his consent, and he replied by a formal refusal. But they pretended that the letter was received too late,[21] and the marriage, by civil bonds, took place at Marseille on the first day of May 1797, in the presence of the mother, and four witnesses. Lucien, although then at Marseille, did not appear.

It was now most important to see Napoleon, secure his approval of the marriage, and a dot for the bride, as well as preferment for the groom. The whole household accordingly set out for Italy: Madame Bonaparte, Élisa and her husband, Caroline, and Jérôme, who, for some unknown reason, had left his college at Saint-Germain a few months before, and joined his mother in the South

Leaving Marseille the end of May, the party went by boat to Genoa, and from there proceeded to Montebello, where they arrived the first of June. Napoleon, without much difficulty, accepted the marriage as a *fait accompli,* and, in exchange, announced to his mother the marriage which he had arranged for Pauline.

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[20] By the Italians, this name is usually written *Baciocchi.* In French, it means *baise-yeux.*

[21] Some writers insinuate that matters between Élisa and her admirer had already gone too far for them to draw back. (*Cf.* 1 Noel-Williams, 157–158; Turquan, 31.)

The husband whom Napoleon had chosen for his sister was a member of his staff, named Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc. He was a handsome young man of twenty-four, of small stature, and some slight resemblance to Napoleon himself, although he had light hair and a rosy complexion. He came from a worthy family of Pontoise, who possessed some fortune, and he had received a good education at Paris. He first attracted the attention of Napoleon by his bravery at the siege of Toulon, and was later called to Italy, where he occupied the post of sous-chef of the general staff. While stationed at Marseille, he had fallen in love with Pauline, and for three years had been a suitor for her hand. Pauline was soon reconciled to the loss of her darling Fréron, and when Leclerc was sent to Paris in April 1797, to carry the news of the peace of Léoben, they were fiancés. After having received from the Directory (9 May) the grade of brigadier-general, he went to Pontoise, to obtain his papers, and the consent of his mother, and then returned to Italy.

The claim of Marmont that, "during the sojourn at Mombello, Napoleon had offered him the hand of his sister"; and the statement of Mounier that Napoleon only gave his sister to Leclerc because he had surprised the pair in a compromising position, are both equally devoid of foundation.[22]

The marriage of Pauline and Leclerc was performed at Montebello, by civil rites, on the 14 June 1797, and was followed the same day by a private religious ceremony, celebrated under express orders from Napoleon. At the same time, the marriage of Élisa and Bacciochi was also blessed by the Church. It is strange that Joséphine did not request Napoleon on this occasion to have their own civil marriage consecrated in the same way.

Two days later, before a notary of Milan, the dots of the two Bonaparte sisters were established. They each received, from their three brothers, Joseph, Napoleon, and Louis, the sum of 40,000 francs. This figure implies that the total fortune of the family at this time was 320,000 francs.

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[22] *Cf.* the *Mémoires* (1, 287) of Marmont, and the story of Mounier, published by Hérisson in *Le Cabinet noir* (131). See also 1 Masson, 185.

After the marriages, the family dispersed. Madame Bonaparte left for Ajaccio, with Élisa and her husband. Joseph departed for Rome, where he had just been named minister plenipotentiary, with a salary of 60,000 francs. He was accompanied by his wife, and his sister Caroline. Jérôme was sent back to his school at Paris. Only Pauline remained in Italy, with Leclerc, named chief-of-staff of the army.

What a change in the fortunes of the Bonapartes in the short period of twenty months! At the beginning of October 1795, Napoleon was on the retired list of the army, at Paris; Joseph, in business at Genoa, was looking for a small consulate in Italy; Lucien, just released from prison at Aix, was asking for a place in the government stores; Louis was a student at Châlons. Now, Napoleon is the general-in-chief of the Army of Italy; Joseph is ambassador to Rome; Lucien, commissary of the first-class; Louis, captain of cavalry; the two elder girls, married and dowered; the mother, returned in sovereign state to Corsica. And, all this they owe to Napoleon; but there is not one of the band who does not sincerely believe that it is due to his own personal merits!

CHAPTER FOUR

JULY 1797 — OCTOBER 1799

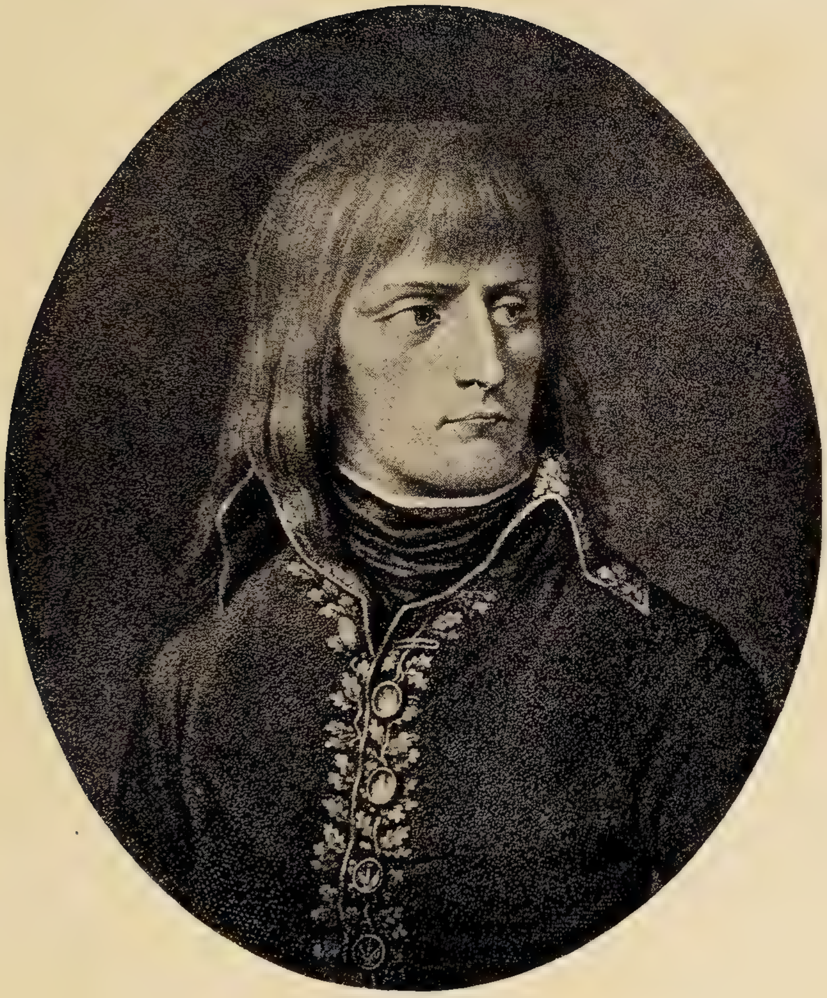
LIFE AT PARIS

Napoleon's Return from Italy — The Talleyrand Fête — England or Egypt? — Joséphine and Barras — Purchase of the Hôtel Chantereine — Napoleon's Fortune — Joseph at Rome — His Return to Paris — Louis and Émilie — Lucien Elected Deputy — Madame Bonaparte, Élisa, and Pauline — Napoleon Sails for Egypt — Joséphine at Plombières — Napoleon's Jealousy — His Liaison with Mme. Fourès — His Decision to Divorce Joséphine — Return of Louis — Fortunes of the Family — Élisa and Pauline — Promotion of Louis — Establishments of Joseph and Lucien — Joséphine Buys Malmaison — Her Intimacy with Charles — Her Political Manœuvres — The Aid of Louis — His Remarkable Letter to Joseph — Attitude of Joseph — He Marries Désirée to Bernadotte — The Rôle of Lucien — His Political Success

LEAVING Milan on the 17 November 1797, Napoleon proceeded by way of Turin and Geneva to Rastadt, where he remained for a week to conclude with the Austrian plenipotentiaries some formalities of the peace of Campo-Formio. He then continued his journey to Paris, where he arrived on the 5 December, and took up his residence in the little Hôtel Chantereine. The only member of his family then at Paris was his youngest brother, Jérôme, who had returned earlier from Milan, and whom Napoleon installed at once in the college of Juilly, which had recently been opened.

After the departure of Napoleon, Joséphine remained several days at Milan; then she travelled very slowly to Paris, stopping at several places en route, and taking over six weeks for the journey. On the second of January, she finally reached Paris, where her arrival was anxiously awaited, for the magnificent fête arranged by Talleyrand in honor of the Conqueror of Italy.

During the month of December, Napoleon remained quietly at home, and carefully avoided the ovations which greeted him



GENERAL BONAPARTE

whenever he went out. Aside from the obligatory calls on the Directors and Ministers, he appeared but a few times in public: at a fête given in his honor by the Directors at the Luxembourg; at a banquet offered him by the members of the two Councils; and at a performance at the Théâtre-Français, where he remained only a few minutes.

The day after the arrival of Joséphine it was necessary to attend the Talleyrand fête. Napoleon appeared, in civilian costume, about ten-thirty in the evening, accompanied by Joséphine, who wore a Greek tunic, and had her hair dressed with cameos. Embarrassed by the enthusiasm of his reception, Napoleon took the arm of the poet Arnault, and promenaded the salons. Madame de Staël seized this occasion to force herself upon the attention of the General, and there ensued the famous dialogue which was to make of this conceited dame his enemy for life.[1]

During the days that followed, Napoleon passed in the company of his wife all the hours that he could spare from his work in the little cabinet, where the floor was covered with the immense maps of England and of Egypt. Even before his departure from Italy, on the 26 October, he had been appointed by the Directory to the chief command of the Army of England. In February, he made a tour of inspection to the Channel ports; on his return to Paris he advised that the proposed invasion of England should be abandoned, and an Oriental expedition undertaken, to menace the trade of the British with the Indies.

As soon as Napoleon left Paris on this occasion, Joséphine seems to have resumed her intimacy with Barras. At any rate, there is much ground for suspicion in the note she hastily despatched to the secretary of the Director on the unexpected return of her husband: "Bonaparte arrived to-night," she writes. "I beg you, my dear Bottot, to assure Barras of my regret that I cannot dine with him. Tell him not to forget me. You know better than any one my position." This all may have been entirely innocent, however; for Napoleon was "very much in love with his wife and excessively jealous."[2]

[1] See the author's *Napoleon and Josephine*, 73.

[2] Quoted, 1 Masson, 205.

Although she was as yet only the lessee of the Hôtel Chantereine, Joséphine had ordered, while in Italy, extensive repairs; and the whole house had been redecorated at an expense of over one hundred thousand francs. But, on the 31 March 1798, Napoleon bought the hôtel for 52,400 francs; and it was soon filled to overflowing with the rare furniture, tapestries, paintings, statues, and other objets d'art, which Joséphine had acquired by purchase, or received as gifts from interested parties. This was the beginning of the immense collection which later embellished her château of Malmaison.

It was a notorious fact that none of the commanders of the armies of the Republic had returned to Paris with empty hands, but Napoleon always pretended that he was different from the others. In dictating his memoirs at Saint Helena, he claimed that on his return from Italy he had less than three hundred thousand francs; but the sum was probably nearer three millions.[3] It is impossible, on any other hypothesis, to account for the large amounts drawn from the common purse, left in the hands of Joseph, during his absence in Egypt. His remuneration as president of the French legation to Rastadt was 7000 francs a month, but this was only temporary; and his pay as general-in-chief was only 40,000 a year — the exact sum which he allowed Joséphine during his absence. After paying 200,000 francs for the purchase and refurnishing of his home, and investing 100,000 in the funds of the Mont-de-Piété, what was left for the establishment of his entire family?

Joseph, clothed in his double capacity of ambassador, and secret envoy charged to revolutionize the Papal States, arrived at Rome on the last day of August 1797. Claiming that he was unable to find any suitable residence in the neighborhood of the Corso, the quarter where ambassadors usually lived, he installed himself in the Palazzo Corsini, in the Trastevere, on the other side of the Tiber. As the Trastevere was the strong-hold of the republican faction, the motives of his course are obvious.

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[3] See 1 Masson, 211.

All Rome was eager to entertain the French Ambassador and his family. They were accorded a long audience by the Pope, Pius the Seventh; and many fêtes were given in their honor. The end of December, Madame Clary arrived from Marseille, accompanied by her daughter Désirée, who was affianced to General Duphot, a young officer attached to the Ambassador's suite. It had been arranged that the marriage should take place at Rome; but on the very eve of the wedding an event occurred which ended the life of Duphot, and brought the sojourn of the Ambassador to a sudden termination.

On the 28 December, when Madame Clary and her daughter were spending the evening with some friends, and while the household of the Embassy were at dinner, the Palazzo Corsini was invaded by a band of " patriots," who demanded the protection of France. They were followed by a detachment of Pontifical troops, sent to disperse the mob. In the *émeute* which ensued, Duphot was killed.

Joseph immediately demanded his passports, and at two o'clock in the morning, with his suite, set out for Florence, whence he sent a report of what had occurred to General Berthier, at Mantua. Then, while the French troops marched on Rome, where the Roman Republic was proclaimed six weeks later, Joseph and his party continued their journey slowly to Paris, where they arrived 22 January 1798.

On reaching Paris, Joseph took up his residence in a furnished house in the Rue Saints-Pères. Caroline was sent to Madame Campan's school, where she found among her fellow-pupils, Hortense de Beauharnais, and the future wives of Marshal Ney and General Duroc. Hortense was the model pupil of the establishment, who was held up as a pattern of virtue and industry. It is not surprising, therefore, that Caroline, who could scarcely read or write, conceived for her an enduring hatred.

In going to Saint-Germain, to visit his sister, Louis met one of her companions, with whom he fell in love. She was a niece of Joséphine, the daughter of the Marquis de Beauharnais,[4] who emigrated during the Revolution. His wife was thrown into prison during the Terror, and barely escaped the scaffold. On coming out, she found herself without resources, and abandoned by her husband. She finally secured a divorce, and married a man of color, named Castaing, a widower with four children. Her daughter, Émilie, for whom she had apparently little affection, was taken in charge by Joséphine, after her marriage, and placed with Hortense at Madame Campan's, where her tuition was paid by the General.

Louis was to accompany his brother to Egypt, but, in order not to be separated from his inamorata, he pleaded illness, and said that a *cure* at Barèges was absolutely necessary to reëstablish his health. Unfortunately, he made a confidant, of his love affairs, of his compatriot Casabianca, who betrayed him to Napoleon. Without a moment's delay, Napoleon sent Louis to Toulon, to await his arrival there, and married the girl to his aide de camp, Lavalette.[5]

Although Lucien had a fine position in Corsica, his chief ambition was to secure an election to the Cinq-Cents, and return to the centre of political life at Paris. It was true that he was only twenty-three years of age, and, under the Constitution, not eligible for two years, but this obstacle was not unsurmountable for the brother of Napoleon. In spite of the law, he was elected, and his election was held valid, under some flimsy technicality. He immediately set out for Paris, leaving on the island his mother, his uncle Fesch, and his sister Élisa.

Madame Bonaparte's chief occupation at this time was the restoration of her house at Ajaccio, which had been wrecked by the Paolists in the winter of 1793. This was a long and tedious affair, as it was necessary to bring almost everything from France. Fesch was employed in the purchasing of pieces of property, to round out his estate, and he seems to have had plenty of funds at his disposal. The valiant Bacciochi was still commandant of the citadel of Ajaccio, and his wife was about to present him with their first child.[6]

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[4] François de Beauharnais was the elder brother of Alexandre, who married Joséphine. He was later sent by Napoleon as ambassador to Madrid.

[5] Although she proved an honest wife, and immortalized her name by saving her husband's life after the Second Restoration, Émilie never was consoled over her marriage. Mme. d'Abrantès says in her *Mémoires* that Lavalette was no bad representation of Bacchus: "his two little eyes, and immoderately small nose, placed in the middle of a very fat pair of cheeks, gave to his countenance a truly comical expression."

Pauline and Leclerc were at Milan, where their son, Dermide-Louis-Napoleon, was born on the 20 April, and baptized five weeks later in a church of the Capucins.

Thus, at the moment of Napoleon's departure for Egypt, each member of his family, thanks to him, was in a position of independence, if not of wealth: none, whatever his conduct may have been, was excluded from his good graces.[7]

Up to this time, the attacks of the Bonapartes on Joséphine, based upon the information gathered in Italy by Joseph and Pauline, had not shaken Napoleon's confidence in his wife. His love may have cooled a little, but he was still bound to her by ties of physical passion. With her tears and her kisses, it was always easy for Joséphine to convince him of her innocence. The only hope of the family now was that, during the absence of Napoleon, his wife would compromise herself, and that a divorce would ensue.

After seeing Napoleon sail from Toulon, Joséphine did not return directly to Paris, but went to Plombières to take the waters. Here she had a dangerous accident: a wooden balcony, upon which she was standing with several friends, gave way under their weight, and she fell fourteen feet to the pavement below. Fortunately she was only bruised, but she sent in haste for Hortense to come to her from Saint-Germain.

During her convalescence, Joséphine was cared for like a queen. Barras received daily bulletins of her health; the authorities of the department of the Vosges were most solicitous in their attentions; bands serenaded her, and her rooms were banked with flowers.

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[6] Napoléone, born 6 June 1798, who lived only seven months.

[7] 1 Masson, 231.

Under the latest instructions from Napoleon, she expected to return to Paris, find there the bride of Marmont, and with her as a travelling-companion proceed to Naples, where she was to embark for Egypt. But when she arrived in Paris, the middle of August, it was to learn that the French fleet had been destroyed by Nelson in the battle of the Nile (1 August), that all the French ports were blockaded, and her departure impossible. So she remained at Paris, where she was in the clutches of the Bonapartes, and at the mercy of Joseph, who held the family purse. She had difficulty in obtaining from him the payment even of her modest allowance of 40,000 francs, and, with all her priceless collection of jewels, was often in want of funds to meet her current expenses.

In the meantime, a great change had taken place in the feelings of Napoleon: the seeds of distrust, sown in his mind before his departure, had begun to germinate. At sea, on the 29 May, before reaching Malta, Napoleon had written Joseph: " I have written my wife to come to join me; if she is near you, I beg you to look after her. " Two months later, from Cairo, on the 25 July, he writes his brother:

> I may be in France in two months; I place my interests in your hands. I have a great deal of domestic trouble, for the veil is entirely rent. You are the only person I have left on earth; your friendship is very dear to me. To become a misanthrope, it only remains for me to see you betray me. Arrange for me to have a country-seat on my return, either near Paris, or in Bourgogne. I count on shutting myself up there, to pass the winter. I am tired of human nature! I need solitude and isolation. Grandeurs bore me, sentiment is withered, glory is faded. At twenty-nine, I have exhausted all: nothing is left for me but to become frankly egoist! I expect to keep my house. Never will I give it to any one. I have only enough left to live on. Adieu, my only friend; I have never been unjust to you! . . . Embrace your wife, Jérôme. . . .

This letter never reached its destination: it was captured by the British scout-boats at the mouth of the Nile, and only reached Paris later in a mutilated edition, printed and circulated by the English Government.

Up to this time, both in Italy and in the Orient, Napoleon had been absolutely true to his wife, but he now decided to take a mistress. He began a liaison with a Madame Fourès, the wife of one of his officers, which continued until he left for France in August 1799. She followed him in another vessel, which was captured by the British. When she finally reached Paris, it was too late. Napoleon, who was reconciled to Joséphine, refused to see her, but made her a handsome allowance.[8]

It is difficult to explain the change in the feelings of Napoleon between the date of his departure from Toulon (19 May) and that of his arrival at Cairo (24 July). During the long voyage to Alexandria, he may have questioned some of his old companions, who may have given him information which confirmed the statements of Joseph; and this time, Joséphine was not there to charm away the demon of jealousy. It must have been some one besides Joseph by whom "the veil was entirely rent." But it was not until nearly seven months later that he reached a definite decision to divorce Joséphine on his return to France, as shown by the famous conversation he had with Junot on the 17 February 1799, at the fountains of Mesoudiah, on his way to Syria. Joseph, however, was never informed of this resolution, — as he was also ignorant of the correct text of Napoleon's letter of the 25 July, — for the sea was controlled by the British cruisers, and no letters reached France for many months. This fact made much easier Napoleon's reconcilation with Joséphine after his return.

When Louis reached Paris, on his return from Egypt, in March 1799, he was unable to give the family much information regarding Napoleon's sentiments. He was a very poor sailor, and had remained at Alexandria nearly three months, after his arrival, to recover from the effects of the voyage. The month that he stayed at Cairo, he was employed mainly in visiting the sights around the city. On the 9 October, he left for Rosetta, where he was to embark for France, as bearer of urgent despatches to the Directory, and of the standards captured in Egypt. But he objected to sailing on the small brig assigned him, and finally persuaded Napoleon to let him use a despatch-boat, the *Vif*, upon which he sailed from Alexandria the 9 November. The voyage was long and stormy, and the vessel was once in such danger of capture by the British cruisers that Louis threw the flags into the sea. After a quarantine of four weeks at Taranto, he proceeded to Corsica, where he spent several weeks with his mother. He then sailed for Leghorn, and travelled over-land to Paris, where he arrived finally about the 11 March.

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[8] She died in Paris in 1869, at the good old age of ninety-two years. See Masson's *Napoléon et les femmes.*

The news that Louis brought was therefore five months old. At the time he left Cairo, Napoleon had not yet reached any definite decision regarding Joséphine, as is shown by the letter which Louis bore to Joseph, in which he wrote: " I pray Louis to give my wife some good advice." That Joséphine was in urgent need of such counsel will appear from the narrative of her life subsequent to the departure of her husband for Egypt.

By the middle of the year 1799, the Bonaparte family was all reunited in Paris, or that vicinity. These insignificant Corsicans, who had landed at Toulon six years before, in a state of abject poverty, were now grand personages, owning fine hôtels in the capital and magnificent country estates in the suburbs. They were all so convinced that they owed their good fortunes to their own merits, that they gave but little thought to the absent brother, to whose generosity they were really indebted for everything they possessed, for it was his money that had paid for all.

In this distribution of favors, the girls had had but small part — especially Élisa, whose husband was of no account. Wishing to return to the Continent, in August 1798, she had secured for Bacciochi the position of commandant of Fort Saint-Nicolas at Marseille, and had taken up her residence in that city. In

January 1799, she lost her baby; and, perhaps as a distraction in her sorrow, she went to Paris to visit her family. In June, she returned to Ajaccio with Bacciochi, who had been named adjutant-general in the army.

After the birth of her son, Dermide, Pauline remained in Italy until July 1799, when Leclerc obtained his recall from the Army of Italy. The following month, he was promoted major-general, and given command of the troops at Lyon. Unlike Bacciochi, Leclerc had intelligence and military ability, and he owed his advancement largely to his own merits. He was highly esteemed by all the members of the family. He purchased at Paris a hôtel at the corner of the rues de la Victoire and Mont-Blanc, and a country seat near Villers-Cotterets.

Louis was as yet too young to set up his own establishment, but he solicited from the Directory the confirmation of his appointment as major, which he claimed was given him by Napoleon in Egypt. He could furnish no proofs, but in July he was named chef d'escadron in the Fifth Dragoons. Thereupon he asked for a congé of two months, and went to Vichy with his mother, to take the waters. On their return in August, Madame Letitia went to live with Joseph, while Louis resided with Lucien. He began to pay marked attentions to his old inamorata, Madame Lavalette, *pour le mauvais motif,* but met with a well-deserved repulse. He then took up with the ladies of the Opera, of easier morals, and caught the same malady he had had at Milan. This time he was better cared for, but he never fully recovered from the disease.

Joseph was not long satisfied with his furnished house in the Rue Saints-Pères, and he bought a handsome hôtel which had been built for a celebrated demi-mondaine, Mlle. Grande. The property cost him, first and last, about 150,000 francs. In October of the same year, he also acquired, near Senlis, just north of Paris, the magnificent château and estate of Mortefontaine, with its vast park, and one of the finest English gardens in Europe. For this property he paid 258,000 francs, and, as the buildings and grounds had much deteriorated since the Revolution, he laid out another quarter of a million in repairs.

On arriving from Corsica, to take his seat in the Cinq-Cents, Lucien lived at first with his brother, but he soon installed himself in a fine hôtel in the Grande-Rue-Verte (Rue de la Pépinière), at the corner of the Rue de Miromesnil. In August, he purchased of Leclerc and Pauline the estate of Plessis, for which he paid 57,000 francs.

Thus, in less than a year, the two brothers had invested in houses and lands more than a million francs! This proves the absurdity of Napoleon's claim that he brought back only three hundred thousand francs from Italy.

On her return from Plombières, in August 1798, Joséphine arranged for the purchase of Malmaison, an estate near the village of Rueil, on the left bank of the Seine, about nine miles from Paris. The deed which was passed before a notary of Paris in April 1799 shows that she paid 225,000 francs, with 37,500 francs additional for the furniture, and about 9000 francs for the recording fee. At the time of the purchase, however, she paid down in cash only the amount of the furniture.

The château consisted then, as now, of three stories, with a plain façade, and a tile roof. On the ground-floor, at the left of the entrance, were the dining-room, cabinet, and library; in the other wing, the billiard-room, boudoir, salon, and gallery. From the billiard-room, there was a staircase to the first floor, where, on the right, an antechamber opened into a room, oval in form, which Joséphine always used as her bedchamber. Two other bedrooms and a bath completed the private suite. In the centre there was a long corridor, from which opened several small guest-rooms; and, in the other wing, were the rooms later occupied by Hortense.

In order to obtain the small sum which she paid on account of the purchase price, Joséphine was forced to borrow 15,000 francs, and sell some of her jewels. Joseph refused to let her have any money from the large funds of Napoleon in his possession; and his actions can only be explained on the ground of his disapproval of the very open manner in which she paraded her amours with Hippolyte Charles.

It will be recalled that this young officer was a member of

CHÂTEAU OF MALMAISON

Joséphine's party when she went to Italy. He was not remarkable for his personal charms, being short, slight, and swarthy; but he had a ready wit, and was an adept at paying pretty compliments to the ladies. He won Joséphine's heart, and they were very intimate during Napoleon's frequent absences from Milan. Rumors seem to have reached the ears of the General, but he took no action beyond sending Charles back to France. Joséphine did not forget him, and through her influence he became a partner in a firm of rich army contractors.[9]

As soon as Joséphine was settled in her new home, Charles appeared on the scene, and was a frequent visitor, if not a permanent guest at the house. He was seen so constantly in her company that the good people of Rueil imagined that he was *her son.* It did not take long for the news to reach Paris, and the ladies of the Bonaparte family were much scandalized. The fact that none of them, except Madame Letitia, was remarkable for the austerity of her morals, did not prevent them from condemning Joséphine. They showed their disapproval by ceasing to visit Malmaison, and looked forward to the return of Napoleon, to lay the facts before him, with the expectation that this time a rupture was inevitable.

In the meantime, no letters were received from Egypt: all communications had been cut off by the British cruisers,[10] and no one knew the present feelings of Napoleon. Every day there were rumors of his death, and his return seemed more and more improbable. Joséphine faced the situation, and began to take some measures to insure her future. With this end in view, in direct violation of the instructions she had received from her husband, she began to frequent the salons of the Directors; renewed her friendship with Barras, and endeavored to arrange a marriage between Hortense and the son of Reubell, the former president of the Directory. In fact, she manœuvred like a skilled diplomatist, and the relations which she established at this time were of the greatest value to Napoleon in the coup d'état of Brumaire.

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[9] Abrantès, 3 *Mémoires,* 207–210.

[10] The blockade was so rigorous that, from the 16 February 1799, when a courier from Egypt arrived in Paris, until the 11 October, when tidings came of the landing of Napoleon at Fréjus, no news of him reached France, save that brought by Louis, who had, of course, left Egypt before the courier in question.

In her diplomacy, Joséphine was much aided, in his own fashion, by Louis, the only one of the Bonaparte family who remained faithful to the interests of the absent brother. Louis, alone, pursued the idea of procuring succors for the army of Napoleon; he was the only one who had hopes: who still had enough affection for his brother, and sufficient confidence in his plans, to uphold his cause.[11] He wrote Joseph:

> Since the world began, there is no example of such indifference as the Government feels, or seems to feel, for the fate of twenty thousand Frenchmen and a colony as rich as Egypt. . . . I have said to you, I have said to the Directors and the Ministers, that if the siege of Acre is lifted, the army is in an extremely critical position. . . . If it be lost, they will see what effect that will produce in France, in Europe; they will realize then that they should have made every endeavor to avert so unfortunate an occurrence. My dear brother, say this to the Directors, say it to the Ministers; speak to them warmly, and do not let yourself be convinced by what they will tell you: that your brother will succeed in getting out of his predicament; in saying that, they know that there is a limit to the power of man, and such speeches tend to throw upon him all the blame. You and Lucien should not rest until they have promised to take up the matter of this army, and to do so warmly. The two Councils should join in impressing your apprehension and your solicitude upon the executive Directory.[12]

Louis did not accuse Joseph of hostility to the interests of their brother, but only of indifference. At the age of thirty, Joseph was an ex-ambassador, a present member of the Council of the Five-Hundred; the possessor of a handsome fortune, a fine hôtel at Paris, a magnificent estate in the Valois; the intimate friend of Rœderer, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, and all the celebrities of the day; and all this seemed to be the limit of his ambition. His principal preoccupation was to keep on good terms with the party in power; and we find, during this period, no speeches of his, no letters, no writings of a political nature of any description.

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[11] 1 Masson, 255.

[12] This remarkable letter, from a young man of twenty-one, is cited by Masson (1, 255–256).

Joseph was responsible, however, at this time for an act which was destined to have a decisive influence on the career of Napoleon: he arranged the marriage of his sister-in-law Désirée with General Bernadotte. Now, Bernadotte was the declared enemy of Napoleon, and such he was always to remain. As commander of a division during the final campaign in Italy, he had posed as the censor, and even the adversary of Bonaparte; he had played a similar rôle as ambassador to Vienna, in 1798; he had opposed the expedition to Egypt; on every possible occasion, he had displayed his envy, and his feelings of hostility to Napoleon. Joseph may have thought that in marrying this ambitious Gascon to one who was almost a member of the Bonaparte family he would bind Bernadotte to their fortunes, but it is difficult to believe in such naïveté. Joseph realized his error later, but it was then impossible to avert the unfortunate consequences of this ill-advised act.

In the instance of Joseph, we have indications of his sentiments, but no positive proofs. The case of Lucien is quite different, as his policy is clearly revealed in his numerous addresses before the Council, and in his public acts. He seemed to be entirely indifferent to the fate of the army in Egypt: not once, in any of his speeches, did he even allude to the question.

His election had been validated on the 18 May 1798, the eve of Napoleon's departure from Toulon, and he took his seat in the Assembly four days later. After studying the legislative situation for six weeks, he plunged into the debates; and, from that time on, scarcely a session passed without some remarks from the former orator of the Jacobin clubs of Ajaccio and Toulon. From the first, he showed himself a violent opponent of the policy of the Directory, and to this attitude he owed his election as secretary (19 August). From that moment, he lost no opportunity of posing as the organ of the Council, and the interpreter of its intentions. His position was soon well-established, and he wielded a real authority in the Assembly. He took a prominent part in the coup d'état of Florial, when Treilhard was ousted, and Merlin and La Revellière resigned, from the Directory.[13] On this occasion, Lucien had the audacity to invoke against Treilhard the argument that, under the Constitution, he lacked *four days* of being eligible for election, while he himself lacked four hundred and fifty-four days of the age required for a deputy!

"During these two years," writes M. Masson, "it must be admitted that this young man displayed an activity which one would say was without precedent, if we did not have that of Napoleon."[14] And, with it all, "he had time to become father of a family," for *Christine-Charlotte-Alexandrine-Égypta*[15] was born at Paris 19 October 1798.

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[13] Later, Gohier, Roger Ducos, and Moulin, were chosen in their places. See the author's *The French Revolution,* 367–368.

[14] 1 Masson, 272.

[15] The name of his daughter shows that Lucien remembered his brother on one occasion, at least. She married (1) a Swede by the name of Count Avred Posse, whom she divorced; and (2), Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart.

CHAPTER FIVE

OCTOBER 1799 — JANUARY 1801

THE RETURN OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon Arrives in France — The News at Paris — Joséphine Fails to Meet Her Husband — Their Reconciliation — Napoleon's Portrait at Thirty — Episodes of the Coup d'État — Napoleon, Consul — His Success Due Mainly to Joséphine and Lucien — Their Respective Rôles — Lucien on the 19 Brumaire — His Reward — Favors to Joseph and Louis — Leclerc and Bacciochi — Marriage of Murat and Caroline — Her Early Life — Napoleon Adverse to the Marriage — His Objections Overcome by Joséphine — Reasons for Her Course — Murat's Career — His Appearance and Character — Portrait of Caroline — The Wedding Ceremonies — Caroline's Pretended Friendship for Joséphine — Her Courage during the Affair of the Infernal Machine — Birth of Her First Child — Her Visit to Italy — Murat Invests More than a Million in Real Estate

FORTUNE never was kinder to Napoleon than during his perilous voyage from Egypt to France. Accompanied by five of his principal officers, Berthier, Bessières, Lannes, Marmont, and Murat; his aides de camp, Duroc, Lavalette, and Eugène de Beauharnais; and his secretary, Bourrienne, he sailed from Alexandria on the morning of the 23 August 1799. The English fleet had gone to Cyprus for repairs, and he slipped out unmolested. Delayed by contrary winds, the voyage was very slow. On the first day of October, the little fleet of four vessels entered the harbor of Ajaccio. Here Napoleon was detained for a week by adverse winds. On the 7 October, he finally sailed for France, and landed at Fréjus two days later. He immediately set out for Lyon, travelling by way of Aix, Avignon, and Valence. At Lyon, he rested half a day, and then resumed his journey to Paris. At Chalon-sur-Saône, he left the direct route via Dijon, and took the westerly road through the Bourbonnais by way of Nevers. At six o'clock on the morning of the

16th, he reached his hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire, but Joséphine was not there to welcome him!

On the 11 October, two days after his landing, the news was received in Paris by the semaphore telegraph. The Cinq-Cents were in session in their new hall, in the Palais-Bourbon, when one of the official messengers of the Directory appeared, and made the announcement. The session was at once adjourned, and the deputies spread to every quarter of Paris to tell the great news.

Élisa and Pauline were at the theatre, that evening, when the message was brought to their loge in the middle of the performance. "I noticed a sudden excitement, and signs of joy," writes an eye-witness. "They disappeared, and I soon learned that they were the sisters of Bonaparte; a messenger had come to announce that he had landed."[1]

Joséphine was dining the same evening at the Luxembourg with Gohier, the president of the Directory, and he told her the news on her arrival. She left at once, and rushed home to make her arrangements for setting out to meet her husband. She realized that it was of the utmost importance for her to see Napoleon, and tell her story before he had a chance to hear it from his brothers. But she naturally took the direct route to Lyon, through the Bourgogne, by way of Dijon. She therefore failed to meet Napoleon, who had gone to Nevers, as already stated. She learned her mistake at Chalon,[2] and retraced her steps to Paris.

During the absence of Joséphine, the Bonaparte family had told Napoleon of her conduct, and he was fully determined on a divorce. On her return to Paris, he locked himself in his room, and refused to see her. For a whole night, she knocked in vain, and cried before the closed door. Finally, at the suggestion of a maid, she sent for her children, who joined their pleas to those of their mother. The door at last was unlocked, and Napoleon appeared with open arms, his eyes wet with tears, his face convulsed with the agony of the trying scene. When Lucien came an hour later, he found that the reconciliation was complete.[3]

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[1] Pasquier, 1 *Mémoires*, 140.

[2] Masson says that she went as far as Lyon, 100 miles beyond Chalon, but this is probably incorrect. (See 1 Masson, 275.) In the *Mémoires* of Eugène (1, 75), he states that Napoleon reached Paris only forty-eight hours before his wife's return.

Napoleon had wisely decided to follow the advice of his friend, Collot, who said to him: "Think of France. She has her eyes fixed on you. She expects to see all your energies devoted to her salvation; if she perceives that your thoughts are taken up with domestic quarrels, she will look on you as a husband of Molière. Forget the faults of your wife!"[4]

Napoleon had the fine quality of never treasuring up grievances — when he forgave Joséphine, it was a pardon generous and complete. He disdained to punish her guilty accomplice; and he paid all of her enormous debts, contracted during his absence. Joséphine showed her appreciation of Napoleon's treatment by giving no further grounds for public scandal. From that time on, she was a model wife.

In his *Mémoires,* Constant has given us an interesting full-length portrait of Napoleon's appearance at this time. "Upon his return from Egypt," he writes, "the Emperor [*sic*] was very thin and very yellow, his complexion copper-colored, his eyes sunken. His brow was very high and uncovered; he had but little hair, especially upon the temples, but it was very fine and soft. His hair was a light brown; his eyes, a fine blue. His mouth was beautiful, his lips even, and a little compressed, especially when he was ill-humored. His teeth, although somewhat irregular, were white and very sound: he never complained of them. His Grecian nose was faultless, and his scent very acute. His head was very large, being twenty-two inches in circumference. It was long, rather than round, consequently a little flat on the temples, and was very sensitive. His ears were small, well formed, and well placed. His height was five feet, two inches, three lines; his neck was rather short, his shoulders sloping, his chest large; his thigh and leg well modelled. His hands and nails were admirable. Later he became much stouter, but without losing the beauty of his form. He was handsomer under the Empire than during the Consulate: his skin had become very white, and his aspect animated." [5]

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[3] *"Il le trouva couché à côté de sa femme, dans le même lit."* — Turquan, 175.

[4] Quoted by Bourrienne, 4 *Mémoires,* 146.

Even the most ardent admirers of Napoleon are forced to admit that he did not appear to advantage during the crisis of the coup d'état of Brumaire. He was a soldier, rather than a conspirator or a politician, and he owed his final success mainly to two persons: his wife, and his brother Lucien. He made no mistake in pardoning Joséphine, for it is not too much to say that without her aid he would never have become consul or emperor. During his absence in the Orient, for reasons of her own, she had mingled in public affairs, contrary to his instructions, and had well prepared the way for his return. Although she had not renewed her liaison with Barras, she had kept on very cordial terms with her former lover, who was a frequent visitor to her salon. She had also established very friendly relations with Talleyrand, Fouché, Gohier, Cambacérès, and many others, whose support was essential to the success of Napoleon's plans. Her rôle was therefore far from being mediocre.[6]

In the political field, the assistance of Lucien was of the highest value. On the eve of Brumaire he was elected president of the Five-Hundred, and he was assured of the support of the majority of that chamber. On the first of the two critical days, it would not have been easy, without his presence in the chair, to shut off any debate on the decree of the Ancients, transferring the session to Saint-Cloud on the following day, and placing General Bonaparte in command of all the military forces of the capital.

On the second day, when it was proposed to outlaw Napoleon, and it seemed for a moment that he could not escape the fate of Robespierre, it was Lucien who saved the situation.

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[5] Constant, *Mémoires,* Introduction. Other observers state that his hair was dark brown, and his eyes a blue-gray, very bright and very soft. His height was about five feet six, English measure. *Cf.* Chuquet, 1 *Épisodes et portraits,* 187–188, and Lévy, *Napoléon intime,* 513.

[6] See 1 Masson, 279 *et seq.*

Through the writings of numerous authors, the events of the 19 Brumaire are now known in every detail, but no one has given such a vivid picture of the scenes at Saint-Cloud as M. Albert Vandal:[1]

"Bonaparte separates himself from his escort, left at the doorway, and, alone, uncovered, glides among the groups, to approach the tribune. Suddenly there arises a great tumult; terrible cries of: *Down with the dictator! Down with the tyrant! Outlaw him!* Almost the entire Assembly arises in indignation against this man, booted and spurred, in full panoply of war, whom they see violate their hall of meeting, and in whom they recognize Cæsar."

In a moment the General is surrounded and closely pressed by the deputies, who have rushed from every part of the hall. "Several seize him by the collar and shake him violently. Under the weight of their bodies, under the touch of their brutal hands, under the breath of their mouths, which belch injury, and which inject their feverish breath in his face, the frail little Cæsar, nervous and sensitive, who has always had a horror of the material contact of crowds, almost swoons. His chest is oppressed, his eyes clouded, he no longer has a clear perception of what is taking place."

With a deathly pallor on his face, Napoleon was dragged by his friends out of the hall. For several minutes, it was necessary to support him: it was thought that he was about to succumb entirely. Coming to himself, he realized all the dangers of his position. In furious words, he denounced the members of the Assembly, calling them traitors, stipendiaries of England; and accusing them of wishing to assassinate him.

"Bonaparte," writes one of the best and most impartial narrators of this historic day, "Bonaparte seemed beside himself. The troops saw him gallop back and forth, with sudden starts and stops, controlling his horse with difficulty, crying constantly that they had tried to assassinate him. At this moment his aspect was sinister. Due to the affection from which he suffered, the skin of his face was heated, irritated, marked with blotches; in his anguish he had scratched and torn his skin with his nails, and his face was streaming with blood. This gave credit to the fable of the poniards, and the news quickly spread, that Bonaparte had been wounded in the face." [8]

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[1] Vandal, 1 *L'avènement de Bonaparte*, 373 *et seq.*

After the departure of Napoleon, Lucien called the Assembly to order, and for a moment succeeded in dominating the situation; but soon the tumult arose again, and continued to grow worse. Realizing then that Napoleon's plan for a peaceful revolution, without the employment of military force, was no longer feasible, Lucien leaned over from the tribune, and whispered to a friendly inspector: " Go and tell my brother that unless the session is suspended within ten minutes I cannot be responsible for anything."

Napoleon at once sent a captain, with ten grenadiers, who extricated Lucien from the mob of deputies. Descending to the courtyard, and mounting a horse, beside his brother, he harangued the troops in ringing tones:

" Citizen soldiers! The President of the Council of Five-Hundred assures you that the immense majority of that Council for the moment is living in terror of a few members armed with daggers, who are besieging the rostrum, threatening their colleagues with death, and forcing them into decisions of the most terrible kind. I declare to you that these audacious brigands, paid no doubt by England, have rebelled against the Council of the Ancients and have dared to talk of outlawing the general charged with the execution of its decree. Let them be expelled by force! These brigands do not represent the people, they represent the dagger! "

This address was in Lucien's best Jacobin Club style: it was not strictly true, but it answered the purpose, and the day was saved! In the face of the imminent danger, the necessity to win or perish, with the abyss yawning before him and his adherents, in a second he reached a decision — found and employed the only means of issuing from the *impasse:* the legal expedient

[8] Cited by Vandal. *Cf.* Rœderer, 3 *Œuvres,* 301.

which justified the intervention of the armed forces. But this action was forced upon him, and was contrary to his program. The intervention of the troops, whom he was obliged to call in, transformed radically, and to his personal detriment, the plan agreed upon; took the power from the lawyers, and gave it to the soldiers. The appearance on the scene of the military element, under such conditions, turned the tables entirely, placed the civil element in the background, and relegated Lucien himself to a secondary position — far below his brother, who would never recognize him as an equal, or share with him the supreme power.

It only remained for Lucien to point out to the troops the convulsed features of his brother, the blood on his face, and demand that the " brigands " be expelled by force. From the soldiers came a unanimous cry of approval. The officers drew their swords, the drums beat the charge, and the grenadiers, headed by the intrepid Joachim Murat, mounted the steps that led to the Orangerie. With crossed bayonets, they drove the deputies from the room.

At two o'clock in the morning, in the dim hall, lighted only by a few candles, Napoleon, Sieyès, and Ducos, took the oath of office, as consuls of France.

" At three o'clock in the morning," writes Bourrienne, " I accompanied Bonaparte in his carriage to Paris. Absorbed in his reflections, he did not utter a single word during the journey. . . . Back in the little house in the Rue de la Victoire, he kissed Joséphine, who was in bed, and told her all the incidents of the day. Then he rested for a few hours, and woke up in the morning, the master of Paris and of France."

In the proclamation addressed to the French people, by Bonaparte, general-in-chief, at eleven o'clock on the night of the 19 Brumaire (10 November), the rôle of Lucien was passed over in silence — in fact his name was not even mentioned. Lucien probably thought that he was slighted, and perhaps he was; but Napoleon may have felt that he had good reasons for reticence regarding some of the occurrences of the day. However this may be, Lucien had his reward six weeks later. When the new Constitution was put into effect (24 December), he was named a member of the Tribunal; and the same day he received from the Consuls the portfolio of the Interior, the highest official position which it was possible to give him. In this way, Napoleon manifested his gratitude to the president of the Five-Hundred; showed the high esteem in which he was held, and indicated the coöperation which was expected of him.

Joseph, who had taken little part in the coup d'état, was elected member of the Corps Législatif; and in March 1800 was appointed one of the three commissioners to negotiate the terms of peace with the United States.

Louis, who had resumed his place as aide de camp on Napoleon's staff, and who had received his grade of major in the Fifth Dragoons only six months before, was promoted in January 1800 to the rank of chef de brigade (colonel) in the same regiment, then in garrison at Paris. Even a Prince of the Blood under the Ancien Régime could hardly have received a more rapid and more undeserved advancement. The manner in which Napoleon pushed his brothers forward is the best possible proof of his subserviency to the Spirit of the Clan.

His relatives by marriage naturally received less consideration. Leclerc, who had rendered valuable services at Saint-Cloud, was merely given the command of a division in the Army of the Rhine, of which Moreau was subsequently appointed general-in-chief. As for the *vaurien* Bacciochi, he was transferred from the position of adjutant-general at Marseille to a similar post with the Sixteenth Division, quartered in the vicinity of Paris; which enabled Élisa at last to rejoin her family in the capital.

The first month of the new year gave Napoleon a new brother-in-law, who had more claims to consideration than either Bacciochi or Leclerc. Joachim Murat was married to Caroline, the former Maria-Annunziata Bonaparte. Born at Ajaccio in 1782, Caroline was exactly fifteen years younger than her dashing husband. She was only a child when the family moved to Marseille in 1793, and a maiden of fifteen when she first met her future husband during the family reunion at Montebello in June 1797. At that time, Murat paid her a thousand delicate attentions, and completely won her heart. As we have already seen, she accompanied her brother Joseph to Rome, and later returned with him to Paris, where she was placed in the school of Madame Campan. Among her companions, there were two nieces of Madame Campan, the demoiselles Auguié, daughters of a former femme de chambre of Marie-Antoinette, of whom one was later to marry Marshal Ney, and the other a M. de Broc, chamberlain of the King of Holland. The latter afterwards lost her life under tragic circumstances when visiting her friend Queen Hortense at Aix-en-Savoie. Besides Hortense herself, there was also a Mlle. Hervas d'Almenera, daughter of a rich banker, who was to become the wife of General Duroc, the grand marshal of the palace under the Empire.

We have no further details of the life of Caroline, worthy of record, up to the day of her marriage. Madame d'Abrantès says that Caroline, during her school days, was a pretty girl, and only *that;* and that her ignorance was beyond description.[9]

After the coup d'état of Brumaire, Napoleon had taken up his residence in the Luxembourg, or rather in the annex of the palace known as the Petit-Luxembourg. Here, one day in December, he received a call from Murat, who made in person an official demand for the hand of his sister Caroline. Napoleon received him rather coldly, and said that he must take time for reflection, also to consult the members of the family, including of course the young lady herself.

Murat, notwithstanding his superb effrontery, would never have had the courage to aspire to the hand of the sister of the First Consul if he had not been encouraged by Joséphine. In this affair Joséphine seems to have had a double motive: to secure a support in the family itself, against the attacks of the Bonaparte clan, and to put an end to the jealousy of Napoleon. When Murat was sent to Paris to present to the Directory the papers of the armistice of Cherasco (1796), he had been very attentive to the wife of his general-in-chief, and on his return to Milan had boasted rather imprudently of his *bonnes fortunes*.[10] His indiscreet words reached the ears of Bonaparte, who treated him with a marked coldness for some time thereafter.

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[9] Abrantès, 3 *Histoire des salons de Paris,* 228.

The evening following the demand of Murat, Napoleon summoned a family council, at which his wife and her two children were present. They all spoke favorably of Murat — especially Joséphine, who recalled his bravery at the battle of Aboukir, and the services he had rendered at Saint-Cloud, the day of the 19 Brumaire, when Napoleon's fortunes were trembling in the balance. Napoleon had had other views for his sister,[11] but he finally yielded, and gave his consent.

When the First Consul found himself alone with Bourrienne, after the family council, he said to his secretary, who had favored the alliance: "Well, Bourrienne, you ought to be satisfied — for my part, I am. Murat suits my sister, and they cannot say that I am proud, that I seek great alliances. Had I given my sister to a noble, all you Jacobins would have cried out for a counter-revolution. Besides, I am pleased that my wife takes an interest in the marriage; you are aware of the reasons."[12]

Murat, who was then only a major-general, was one of the most striking figures in the French army. Young, handsome, full of life, with his brilliant uniforms, on the field of battle, or in a review, he attracted the attention of every one. He was born on the 25 March 1767 near Cahors,[13] where his father combined the calling of innkeeper with that of sub-intendant of an estate belonging to the Talleyrand family. As a younger son, he was destined for the Church; therefore he received a good education in the college at Cahors, and the seminary at Aix.

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[10] *Cf.* Abrantès, 2 *Mémoires*, 238.

[11] He had considered Lannes, Augereau, and Moreau — but Lannes was not divorced from his first wife until seven months later; Augereau was devoted to his mistress, Mlle. Gracht, to whom he remained faithful until her death in 1806; and Moreau was in love with Mlle. Hulot, whom he married in November 1800. *Cf.* 1 Masson, 306; 2 Abrantès, 241.

[12] 3 Bourrienne, 292.

[13] Larousse, and some other authorities, give the date of his birth as 1771.

But this strapping lad was as little fitted for an ecclesiastical career as his immortal countryman d'Artagnan, and he soon ran away, to enlist in the army. During the Revolution, he saw much active service, and in April 1793 had attained the rank of major. At that period he was an ardent Jacobin; consequently, after Thermidor, he was cashiered, and nearly lost his life.

Restored to his rank, he rendered very efficient services on the eve of the 13 Vendémiaire, when he first attracted the attention of Bonaparte. When Napoleon went to Italy, he took Murat as his senior aide de camp. During this memorable campaign, Murat greatly distinguished himself, and was promoted to the command of a brigade. He was one of the officers chosen for the Army of Egypt, where he won new laurels. At Aboukir, he led the brilliant charge which completely routed the Turks, and captured their leader with his own hand. For this exploit he was specially mentioned in Napoleon's despatches, and received the grade of general of division. He returned to France with Napoleon, and for his services on the 19 Brumaire was made commander of the new Consular Guard.

Murat was considered one of the handsomest officers in the army, although his thick lips, his curly black hair, dark eyes, and swarthy complexion, " gave him somewhat the appearance of a negro." [14] On the other hand, he possessed a fine and well-proportioned figure, with great muscular strength. He was a man of dauntless courage, of dignified bearing, and elegance of manners. To women, he was invariably courteous and attentive; with men, affable and congenial; in short, he was generally popular.

At the time of her marriage, in the words of Madame Récamier: " Of all the sisters of Napoleon, Caroline was the one who most resembled him. She was not as perfectly beautiful as her sister Pauline, but she strongly possessed the Napoleonic type. She had much intelligence, with an imperious will; and the contrast between the somewhat childish grace of her countenance

[14] Abrantès, *Mémoires.*

and the decision of her character made her extremely attractive."

In other words, Caroline then had the freshness of youth — *la beauté du diable;* but her head was too large for her body; her shoulders were round; her neck short, and sunken in her shoulders; her bust and her hips too large. She had less intelligence than Élisa, less beauty than Pauline, but more ambition than either of her sisters. "Like her sisters," says Turquan, "perhaps even more, she wished to play a sovereign rôle; like them, she was only a courtisane."[15] It will be interesting to trace the growth of ambition in this woman, the aim of whose life was to replace her brother by her husband on the throne of France.

The marriage contract was signed on the 18 January 1800 at the residence of the Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, at the Luxembourg, in the presence of the entire family. The arrangements were the same as in the case of Élisa and Pauline: the future wife received from her four elder brothers the sum of 40,000 francs, and in addition, some 12,000 francs in diamonds.

The following day, the family, with the exception of Napoleon and Joséphine, proceeded to Mortefontaine, the home of Joseph, where, on the 20th, the civil marriage was performed. The union was not blessed by the Church until two years later, on the occasion of the marriage of Louis and Hortense.

The bridal couple took up their residence in the Hôtel de Brionne, in the southerly part of the courts of the Tuileries, near the wicker-gate of the Pont-Royal. They occupied only the ground-floor apartment, which later became the residence of M. Maret, the future Duc de Bassano, when they left to install themselves in the Hôtel Thélusson.

The young couple seemed very much in love with each other, and Caroline, whom ambition had not yet spoiled, charmed every one with her amiability and her simple manners. She was very attentive to Joséphine, who flattered herself that she had gained both the objects that she had in view in promoting the marriage. As a matter of fact, however, Caroline disliked Joséphine fully as much as did her sisters, and was only biding her time to turn against the Beauharnais. But, for the present, it was for her interest to keep on good terms with her sister-in-law, so she was all smiles and compliments. She was a strange combination, this youngest sister of Napoleon, of whom Talleyrand said that she had " the head of a Cromwell on the shoulders of a pretty woman."

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[15] Turquan, 324.

Napoleon showed his appreciation of the politic conduct of the Murats by giving them in May 1800 the property of Villiers, which was eventually to grow into the beautiful estate of Neuilly.

While Murat was absent with Napoleon during the brilliant campaign of Marengo, Caroline remained at Paris, and passed nearly all her time in the company of Joséphine, with whom she continued on the most friendly terms. After the campaign Murat returned to Paris, where he was presented with a sabre of honor, in recognition of his bravery. This distinction, and his alliance with Napoleon, seem to have turned his head, for he flatly declined the command of the Army of the West, which the First Consul had offered him, and practically demanded that of the Army of the Reserve, for which Bernadotte was slated. Napoleon refused to accede to his demands, and sent him in November 1800 to Milan, as lieutenant to Brune, who was in command of the Army of Italy.

Caroline, who was *enceinte,* stayed in Paris, and took part in all of the festivities of the season. On Christmas eve, she accompanied Joséphine and Hortense to the special performance of Haydn's *Creation* at the Opéra, and narrowly escaped being killed by the infernal machine, designed to blow up the First Consul.[16] On this occasion, Caroline revealed the character of the family. " Although her condition would have excused a display of emotion," writes Mme. d'Abrantès, . . . " she was perfectly self-possessed throughout the whole of that trying evening." [17] She continued in excellent health, and on the 21 January 1801 gave birth to her first child, Napoléon-Achille.

[16] See *Napoleon and Josephine,* 109–110.

[17] Abrantès, 3 *Mémoires,* 96.

Murat was anxious to return to Paris for his wife's confinement, but Napoleon refused him permission. The last of January, he was ordered to advance into Tuscany, to repel an invasion by the Neapolitan troops, and at that time occupied some territory of the Papal States, from which he refused to withdraw until he received a payment of 500,000 francs!

On his arrival at Florence, where he had established his headquarters, Murat again asked permission to return to Paris. Napoleon once more refused his consent, but sent Caroline and her baby to join him. In July he was appointed general-in-chief of the French troops in Italy, which necessitated the transfer of his headquarters to Milan.

In October, Caroline returned to Paris, but Murat could only secure permission to see his wife safely over the Alps. Finally, the last of November, Napoleon relented, and gave his brother-in-law a leave of three months. Murat hastened to Paris, where he occupied himself with investing in real estate the proceeds of his brigandage in Italy. At this time he acquired, for over a million francs, the magnificent Hôtel Thélusson,[18] in Paris; a fine country-seat in the Deux-Sèvres, and the remaining portion of the Villiers estate.

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[18] This hôtel, built in 1780, for the banker Thélusson, occupied the space between the Rue de la Victoire and the Rue de Provence. It was considered the finest private residence in Paris. (See 2 Masson, 52–53.)

CHAPTER SIX

FEBRUARY 1800 — JANUARY 1802

THE MARRIAGE OF LOUIS

Napoleon Moves to the Tuileries — His Quarters There — The Consular Court — Struggle for the Succession — " Conspiracy of Marengo " — Napoleon's Hopes for an Heir — Rivalry Between His Brothers — Lucien and the *Parallel* — He Is Dismissed from the Ministry — Sent As Ambassador to Madrid — Final Scene at the Tuileries — Louis Chosen — Joséphine Plans to Marry Him to Hortense — His Melancholy Temperament — Appearance and Character of Hortense — Her Early Life — Her Love Affairs — Absence of Louis in Germany and Spain — Joséphine at Plombières — Return of Louis — He Decides on Marriage — Vile Stories Regarding Napoleon and Hortense — The Union Not Forced on Louis — The Civil and Religious Ceremonies — Marriage of Caroline and Murat — Joséphine's False Hopes

SOON after the marriage of Caroline and Murat, Napoleon decided that the time had come for him to leave the Luxembourg, and take up his residence in the former royal palace of the Tuileries. The word " Tuileries," however, was not yet pronounced — out of consideration for the prejudices of the Jacobins, the building was still called the " Palace of the Government." At the side of the entrance gate to the Carrousel, the inscription had not yet been erased, which read: *" Le 10 août, la royauté en France est abolie; elle ne se relèvera jamais! "*

Napoleon intended, nevertheless, to occupy himself the royal apartment; but he reserved for the third Consul, Lebrun, a suite in the Pavillon de Flore, while the other Consul, Cambacérès, took up his permanent lodgement in the Hôtel d'Elbeuf, opposite the entrance of the Carrousel.

On the morning of the 19 February 1800, when his secretary entered his room, Napoleon exclaimed: " Well, Bourrienne, it is to-day that we are going to sleep in the Tuileries!" And, in saying these words, he embraced his wife.[1]

At one o'clock in the afternoon, all Paris was on foot to see the cortège pass from the Luxembourg to the Tuileries. The departure was made with all the pomp possible. The route was lined by the whole garrison of the capital. The carriage of the First Consul was drawn by six white horses, a present from the Emperor of Germany to the general who signed the treaty of Campo-Formio. But, as there were no longer in Paris any State carriages, or even private equipages, the other Consuls, and the Ministers, were in ordinary fiacres, on which pieces of paper, of the colors of the bodies, were pasted over the numbers. However, if the civil part of the procession was very ordinary, the military parade was admirable. The escort was composed of three fine regiments, commanded by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières. From the gate of the Carrousel to the door of the Château, the way was lined by the new Consular Guard. As soon as his carriage had passed the gates, Napoleon descended, mounted his horse, and held a review of the troops — the first of those reviews in the court of the Tuileries which later became so celebrated. At that date, however, the court was very restricted in space, and bore but little resemblance to what it became later, after the numerous buildings, and the dividing walls, had been removed. Joséphine, who had preceded her husband, viewed the parade from a window of Lebrun's apartment. She had in her party her two nieces, Madame de Lavalette and Mlle. de Beauharnais; also Madame Murat, and the wives of several of the generals. At the same window with Joséphine was her daughter, Hortense. "At that period of her life," writes Madame d'Abrantès, "she was truly charming, with her tall and slender form, her beautiful blond hair, her large and soft blue eyes, her grace, both Creole and French at the same time." [2]

For Joséphine, this was the first day of her power — the inauguration of her reign. That night, when it came time to retire, Napoleon said to her, with a laugh: "Allons, petite Créole, venez vous mettre dans le lit de vos maîtres."[3]

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[1] 3 Bourrienne, 319; 3 Abrantès, *Histoire des salons de Paris,* 317.

[2] 3 Abrantès, *Op. cit.*, 329.

It is from this day also that dates the formation of what became known as the Consular Court. "It was not exactly a Court," wrote the Russian Princesse Dolgorouki at this time, "but it was no longer a camp."

In the Tuileries, Napoleon took possession of the suite of Louis the Fourteenth on the first floor, in the south wing adjoining the Pavillon de Flore, while Joséphine and Hortense occupied the apartment of Marie-Antoinette below, on the ground-floor.[4] Napoleon, whose tastes were very simple, rarely used the *lit de parade* in his suite, but descended every night, by the narrow winding stairway, to the rooms of Joséphine.[5]

Two days after his arrival at the Tuileries, Napoleon held his first formal reception of the diplomatic corps. At the end of the audience, the ambassadors descended to pay their respects to the wife of the First Consul, "as formerly to see the Queen, after having been presented to the King."[6] Michelet has written: "Il y a une reine dans toute Française," and Joséphine certainly played the rôle to perfection. Without her experience, and social tact, it would have been difficult for Napoleon, in these early days, to constitute a new society at the Tuileries. All his life had been passed in the army, and he had but few acquaintances in Paris. He found it necessary constantly to call on his colleague Lebrun for information regarding persons and things. But, with all these drawbacks, the season of 1800 at Paris was very brilliant, especially when compared with those which had preceded it. The final year of the eighteenth century[7] promised to wipe out the sad memories of the years following the Revolution.

But while Paris amused itself, Napoleon was occupied with serious problems, both foreign and domestic, and family troubles, which were perhaps the most irksome of all. He was hardly installed in office before his brothers Joseph and Lucien began to intrigue for the supreme power in the event of his death. During the winter of 1800, there arose the question of heredity, which was to be the source of his greatest troubles, and the main cause of his final downfall. All that Napoleon had done for his brothers, all that he could do for them, failed to content them, unless, at present, he designated one of them as his successor. Nothing in the new Constitution gave this power to the First Consul; but, to the Bonapartes, this did not seem any impediment.

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[3] 1 Rémusat, 170.

[4] For a description of the Tuileries at this period, see Appendix B.

[5] 3 Bourrienne, 328.

[6] 4 Bourrienne, 5.

[7] Turquan makes the common error of calling it the first year of the *nineteenth* century. (*La générale Bonaparte*, 208.)

Joseph appears to have broached the subject formally the day before Napoleon left Paris for the campaign of Marengo; and he shows his hand clearly in the letter he wrote his brother three weeks later (24 May).[8] He takes it for granted that the succession will be attributed to him, and does not admit that any one else can be designated. " He is the chief of the clan, the head of the family; hence, it is not a favor that he solicits, it is a right that he claims." [9]

But Joseph did not rely entirely upon Napoleon to gain his end. At the suggestion of his friend Miot, a meeting was called at Auteuil, at which were present many of the leading members of the former Assemblies. The subject of discussion was the possibility of the death of the First Consul during the campaign, and the question of his successor. After hesitating between La Fayette and Carnot, the meeting decided in favor of the " Organizer of Victory," whom Napoleon had recalled from exile, and made Minister of War. The name of Joseph was not even considered!

This was the so-called " Conspiracy of Marengo," the details of which are still very obscure.

Lucien was not involved in any of these later intrigues. On the 14 May, he lost his wife; for a short period he abandoned the direction of his department, and retired to his country estate.

Joseph was so impatient to obtain a reply to his letter, that he could not remain quietly at Paris, so he departed for Italy. When he reached Milan, the victory of Marengo had settled the whole question. Napoleon was now the undisputed master of France, and the decision of the matter was entirely in his own hands. With his usual leniency, he chose to ignore all the plots laid during his absence. The only revenge he took, was to dismiss Carnot. His brothers were pardoned, as a matter of course.

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[8] See 1 Masson, 340.

[9] *Ibid,* 341.

The plots laid during the absence of the First Consul are especially interesting, because they mark a grouping of factions which was to remain the same during a period of fifteen years; they reveal also the principal weakness of Napoleon's personal régime, and give the motive of most of the conspiracies formed during the Empire. They did not fail to impress Napoleon with the necessity of regulating the Consular succession — a matter which, perhaps intentionally, he had left vague in the new Constitution.[10]

At the age of thirty-one, Napoleon could not abandon the hope of having a direct heir: hence, the menace of divorce for Joséphine. After four years of marriage, she could hardly expect to bear another child, although she was still comparatively a young woman. There was, however, no assurance that the fault was hers: she had borne two children, and Napoleon had never had any — " even by his mistresses." In fact, he was never convinced of his own virility until the birth of his first child, six years later.[11] Even his own family were so sure of his impotence that they seemed no longer to expect that he would repudiate Joséphine in order to have an heir by a younger woman.

In the meantime, Joseph and Lucien continued their intrigues to force the hand of the First Consul, and compel him, whether he wished or not, to adopt at least the principle of the designation of his successor. Lucien was quite willing to recognize the rights of Joseph, as head of the clan; but, knowing his brother's indolence and weakness of character, he expected to be " the power behind the throne." The means employed to gain their ends were naturally different — Joseph using personal appeals, and Lucien acting upon public opinion. The propaganda of the younger brother led to an incident which had a great influence on the fortunes of the family, and practically ruined his own political career.

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[10] *Cf.* 1 Masson, 347.

[11] His son, Léon, by Mlle. Dénuelle, born at Paris, 13 December 1806.

Since the death of his charming wife, who had ended by winning the hearts of all the Bonapartes, as well as the esteem of Parisian society, Lucien had neglected the affairs of his department, and plunged into all kinds of dissipation. Besides an open liaison with a pretty actress of the Français, he paid very marked attentions to the lovely Madame Récamier, *la belle entre les belles,* and devoted to her hours which had better have been given to his public duties.[12] After his return from Marengo, Napoleon was forced to call his brother to account for the disgraceful peculations in his department, and his general neglect of his affairs. But this was not the cause of his disgrace, as claimed by some writers unfavorable to Napoleon.[13]

On the 22 September 1800, the remains of Turenne were borne to their final resting-place under the dome of the Church of the Invalides, which had been known since the Revolution as the Temple de Mars. The following day, the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, there was a solemn ceremony in the same place. Carnot, the Minister of War, made an oration in which he exalted the great general of Louis the Fourteenth. Lucien, as Minister of the Interior, also pronounced a eulogy on Turenne, ending with the words: "*I swear . . . that the grand destinies of Republican France shall be accomplished!*" Was this a threat or a promise?

A month after this ceremony, one morning toward the end of October, Fouché, the Minister of Police, entered the cabinet of the First Consul, and handed him a little brochure, which, under the frank of the Minister of the Interior, had been mailed

[12] M. Masson thinks that the thirty-three letters he wrote her, which were sold at auction about twenty years ago, date only to a period subsequent to the death of his wife, to whom he was faithful, and not to the previous year, as some have claimed. (See 1 Masson, 351, note.)

[13] *Cf.* 1 *Mémoires de Miot de Melito,* 301; 1 *Mémoires de Constant,* 472; 3 *Mémoires de Méneval,* 107. See also Turquan, 211–212.

to all the public officials in France. It was entitled, *Parallèle entre César, Cromwell, et Bonaparte,* and contained two marked paragraphs which seemed to envisage the heredity, and pose the candidature of the brothers of the First Consul.[14]

Lucien was summoned from his country place at Plessis, and came to Paris on the afternoon of the 5 November. He went directly to the Tuileries, where he had a very lively interview with Fouché, in the cabinet of the First Consul, who listened quietly to the discussion. Lucien could not deny that the pamphlet had been sent out from his office, but claimed that it was drawn up by Fontanes, who had gone beyond his instructions. Joséphine entered the room, seated herself upon Napoleon's knees, and ran her fingers caressingly through his hair and over his face. " I beg you, Bonaparte," she said, " do not make yourself king: it is this wretch Lucien who is urging you on; do not listen to him."

To cut short a scene so disagreeable to himself, and so painful to Lucien, Napoleon demanded the resignation of his brother, but covered his disgrace by making him ambassador to Madrid, with an enormous salary, and the tacit understanding that he could " make use of all the advantages which came his way."

It cost Napoleon much to take this step. He had a high opinion of the talents of Lucien, who was by far the ablest of his brothers; and he also felt under great obligations for the services rendered by him on the 19 Brumaire.

The evening of the day that the disgrace of Lucien became known, there was a reception at the Tuileries, at which a few ladies were present, besides the members of the family, and many generals, ministers, and other public functionaries. At the beginning, Napoleon was not present, being in conference with Lucien in his cabinet. When he entered the salon, his face showed the traces of the trying scene through which he had passed. Nothing affected him more than these painful family dissentions. Lucien presented an air of gaiety which was far from natural. He went over to the corner where Joséphine was seated in a large armchair, and, before making his adieux, asked if she had any commissions for him at Madrid. She requested him to bring her back, or send her, some of the fans for which that country was celebrated.[15]

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[14] These two passages are quoted in full by Masson (1, 353–354, note).

The exile in disguise of Lucien was not all that Joséphine gained by the unfortunate publication of the *Parallel,* and the opportune intervention of Fouché. Napoleon took up in earnest the question of the succession. Passing over Joseph, as incapable; Lucien, on account of the reasons just given; Eugène de Beauharnais, as too young and inexperienced, he decides on Louis, " who has none of the faults of his brothers, and all of their good qualities."

On learning of this decision, Joséphine was full of joy. " Who can say," writes M. Masson, " that the idea did not come from her: that, in their intimate conversations, she had not made the suggestion, but in such a manner that Napoleon thought it was original with himself? "

From that moment, Joséphine's plan was settled: *Louis must marry Hortense!* [16]

At this time, Louis was just twenty-two years of age. Since the 10 January 1800, when he was made colonel of the Fifth Dragoons, he had continued to reside at Paris, associating with men of letters, and devoting his time to everything except his military career. He had nothing to do with the officers of his rank, or the aides de camp of his brother. When two squadrons of his regiment were designated for the Army of the Reserve, he did not follow them, but remained at Paris. He already showed signs of that tendency to melancholy, which, aggravated by his malady, was to increase with years. He was taciturn, his face was devoid of expression, his eyes were dull, and, in the words of Napoleon, he had " the air of an imbecile." He was of a very jealous, suspicious disposition; imbued with the idea that all the world was against him. Napoleon was entirely mistaken in his estimate of this favorite brother; and, without this key to Louis' character, it would be impossible even to-day to understand his career.[17]

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[15] Girardin, 1 *Journal,* 103; Lucien, 1 *Mémoires,* 387; 1 Masson, 358.

[16] 1 Masson, 360.

[17] 1 Masson, 361–366.

Thinking that change of scene might cure Louis of his melancholy, Napoleon proposed to him a trip to Germany, which he promptly accepted, as he said later, "to find relief from the solicitations for his marriage with Hortense." It is impossible, however, to place any confidence in this statement which he made nearly twenty years afterwards, when writing his memoirs. Up to this time, Joséphine had not taken any steps toward arranging a marriage between him and Hortense, and he attributes to her designs which did not take form in her mind until a later date.

At the age of sixteen, Hortense was what her school-mistress would call an "accomplished young person." Although not exactly pretty, she was very attractive. Her nose was too large, her mouth too small, and her teeth bad, like those of her mother. She had exquisite violet-blue eyes, a mass of blond hair, and a very sweet expression. The general effect was one of great charm, which was felt by every one who met her.

Hortense had received an excellent education at the school of Madame Campan. She was a beautiful dancer, like her father; she painted, she played the harp and the piano; she excelled in fancy-work; she had literary and musical pretensions, which were not unjustified. In character, she was sweet, loving, amiable, and complaisante, provided she was not crossed — in which case she could become very obstinate and head-strong. She was one of the most talented among the performers in the private theatricals at Malmaison, which Napoleon enjoyed so much, and was frequently complimented by her stepfather — much to the disgust of the jealous Caroline Murat. She also excelled in out-of-door sports, and was a very finished horsewoman.

One of the finest traits of Hortense was her devotion to her mother, who had done so little to deserve her adoration. In the summer of 1788, when she was five years old, she had accompanied her mother to Martinique, on that voyage which none of the biographers of Joséphine has ever been able to explain.[18] On their return two years later, they found Beauharnais the

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[18] See *Napoleon and Josephine*, 24–26.

President of the Assembly. Joséphine, who was anxious for the safety of her children, confided them to the care of some friends who were leaving France; but their father interfered, for political reasons, and prevented their departure. Then, in compliance with the decree of the Convention that the children of nobles should learn a trade, Eugène was apprenticed to a carpenter and Hortense to a dressmaker. When both Alexandre and Joséphine were imprisoned in the Carmes, in the spring of 1794, the two little children were left forlorn waifs in the Paris of the Terror. They were allowed, however, to visit their parents in prison, and were a connecting link between them and the outside world. On the 23 July 1794, their father perished on the scaffold; four days later (9 Thermidor) Robespierre fell, and Joséphine was promptly released.

Hortense was then sent to the school at Saint-Germain; and it was from there, in January 1796, that she was taken to the Luxembourg to meet General Bonaparte, at a dinner given by Barras. Both she and her brother were opposed to the second marriage of their mother, but Napoleon soon won their hearts by his uniform kindness and consideration. At the time of Napoleon's return from Egypt, it was Hortense and Eugène who brought about a reconciliation. After the coup d'état of the 18 Brumaire, Hortense left school, at the age of sixteen, and went to live at the Luxembourg, where her social life began.

Concerning the love affairs and marriage of Hortense, there are many diverse accounts, and it is not easy to arrive at the truth. Lucien states in his memoirs that soon after his return from Spain he was invited to luncheon by Joséphine, to meet Hortense. Madame Bonaparte was most amiable, and, without positively making a proposition, let her guest understand that he would be acceptable as a son-in-law. "Josépine did not insist," he continues. "Besides, my refusal was no more positive than her proposal. I only gave her to understand that I had no intention of remarrying." [19]

This report rests solely upon the statement of Lucien, and is far from convincing.[20] But there seems to be more of a basis for the statement of Bourrienne that Hortense was for a time in love with Duroc, and that she carried on a secret correspondence with him. The secretary of the First Consul relates a conversation with Napoleon in his cabinet at the Tuileries on the 4 January 1801, in which Napoleon said that he would give Hortense to Duroc; that he would make him a present of half a million francs, and would appoint him to the command of the Eighth Military Division at Toulon; but that he must depart at once for his post, as he could not live at Paris. These conditions were not acceptable to Duroc, and he declined the offer.[21] The real reason for his refusal, however, was that he knew that Joséphine was strongly opposed to the match. "My daughter," she said, "should marry only a prince or a Bonaparte." Although Duroc had no strong inclination for Hortense, his pride was wounded, and he did not soon forgive Joséphine.[22]

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[19] Jung, 2 *Lucien Bonaparte et ses Mémoires,* 268.

In the meantime, Louis had quickly tired of his trip to Germany; at the end of three months, he asked permission of his brother to return to France. Soon after his arrival in Paris, the last of January 1801, he bought a place at ten leagues from the city, and went to bury himself there in mid-winter. It was a simple rural mansion, situated over two miles from the nearest village, and the nearest carriage-road. "It was," says M. Masson, "a place of mystery, a corner where no one ventured, a refuge of exile or of profound despair." [23]

Louis had hardly taken possession of his new property, and begun some alterations, before he again became restless; the last of March we find him at Malmaison, where he made a visit of two weeks. On the 5 April, he left for Bordeaux, to rejoin his regiment, which, at his request, had been included in the Army of Observation of Portugal, commanded by his brother-in-law, Leclerc. His rather precipitate departure was a new disappointment to Joséphine, who had hoped, during the visit of Louis, to bring matters to a head between him and Hortense.

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[20] As at matter of fact, he did not return from Spain before the middle of November, and the engagement of Hortense was announced in September.

[21] 4 Bourrienne, 319–321.

[22] 6 Abrantès, 750.

[23] 1 Masson, 397.

On the 7 July, Joséphine went to Plombières, to try once more the waters which had succeeded so well the preceding year with Madame Joseph that she was on the point of presenting her husband with another child.[24]

Joséphine was accompanied by quite a family party: her daughter, Hortense; her niece, Madame Lavalette, and her mother-in-law, Madame Letitia. She returned to Malmaison early in August, to await without result the miraculous effects of her *cure*. During her absence the famous Concordat was signed.

At the end of three months, Louis was tired of his military life, and asked for a congé, to go to Barèges, to cure his rheumatism. Here he remained until the last of September 1801, when he came to Malmaison to visit his brother and sister-in-law. At this time he seems to have fallen in love with Hortense, and to have decided to marry her. In writing his memoirs, twenty years later, Louis claimed that his consent was forced, but there appears to be no truth in his statements. The engagement was at once announced by Joséphine, and Hortense received the usual congratulations. Three months elapsed before the marriage, and during this period Louis certainly seemed to be in love with Hortense; while she, if not very enthusiastic, accepted the arrangement, because it would be "a bond between two families which ought to be but one."[25]

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[24] This was their second daughter, Zénaïde, born at the Hôtel Marbeuf, Joseph's Paris residence, on the 8 July 1801. She became the wife of Charles, Prince de Canino, the eldest son of Lucien, by his second marriage, with Madame Jouberthou. By a singular error, Joseph says in his *Mémoires:* "The Concordat was signed at two o'clock in the morning in the hôtel which I inhabited Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré; *at the same hour* I became father of a third child. . . ." As a matter of fact, the Concordat, which bears the date of the 15 July, was not signed until the 16th, eight days after the birth of his *second* daughter; and his *third* child, Charlotte, was born at Mortefontaine, 31 October 1802. Charlotte became later the wife of Napoleon-Louis, the second son of Louis and Hortense. This only goes to show how unreliable memoirs often are, even in matters most personal to the writers.

[25] See 1 Masson, 416.

Both Joseph and Lucien affirm that Louis was very much in love with Hortense at the time of his marriage. When he admitted this fact to Lucien, and asked his advice, his brother replied:

"You are in love? Then why on earth do you ask my opinion? Marry her; and may God bless you!"

"A week later, the 6 [4] January," continues Lucien, "Louis was married. *The case was urgent.*" [26]

Never was there a baser or viler calumny than the implication conveyed by the final words of Lucien. Even Turquan, who gloats over every scandal connected with Napoleon and Joséphine, says: "Here is the place to destroy this legend, so lightly accepted by Lucien, that the First Consul was the lover of Hortense." He then goes on to quote Bourrienne, Mme. de Rémusat, Constant, Mlle. Avrillon, Mme. d'Abrantès, and Mme. Durand, all of whom most positively deny this allegation, of which there is absolutely no proof in the documents of the period. Bourrienne writes: "They lied in their throats, as our valiant knights of old would say, when they pretended that Bonaparte ever had for Hortense any other feelings than those of a stepfather for his stepdaughter." [27]

"In spite of the tears she shed the day of her marriage," says M. Turquan, "she was irreproachable at the beginning of her union; later, it was different, . . . and her mother was largely to blame; still later, her husband; and, at the end, no one but herself." [28]

The best possible proof that Louis was not forced into this marriage against his inclination, is to be found in the fact that during the final months of 1801 nearly the entire Bonaparte family was united at Paris. Madame Letitia had returned from her *cure* at Vichy; Élisa, from Barèges; Lucien, from Spain; Murat, on leave, from Italy; Leclerc, recalled to take command of the expedition to Saint-Domingue; besides Joseph, who was at Mortefontaine. Louis, therefore, did not lack advice, counsel, and support; and he was not ignorant of the fact that his marriage displeased all the members of his family — especially his mother, who saw in it " the triumph of a strange family over her own." [29]

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[26] Jung, 2 *Mémoires*, 269.

[27] *Cf.* 4 Bourrienne, 322; 1 Rémusat, 160; 1 Constant, 109; 1 Avrillon, 152; Durand, 2; 6 Abrantès, 342.

[28] Turquan, 229. *Cf.* Pasquier, 1 *Mémoires*, 397.

At last, all the arrangements were made. The banns were published on the 12 December. On the 29th, Napoleon informed Joseph that Louis, after his marriage, would occupy the hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire. On the 3 January, the contract was signed at the Tuileries, in the presence of Madame Bonaparte *mère,* Lucien, Élisa, Joachim and Caroline Murat, Fesch, M. and Mme. Lavalette, Cambacérès, Lebrun, Portalis, and Bessières. Besides his estate of Baillon, Louis had 180,000 francs; Hortense received 100,000 francs from her mother, representing her interest in her father's estate, and a donation of 250,000 francs from the First Consul. The young couple were therefore well provided for, at the beginning of their married life.

The following day, the 4 January 1802, at nine o'clock in the evening, the civil marriage took place, before the mayor of the First Arrondissement, in the presence of the same witnesses who had signed the contract. Toward eleven o'clock, the whole party proceeded to the hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire, where Cardinal Caprara performed the religious ceremony, " at a kind of altar, arranged in one of the rooms." [30]

After the termination of the ceremony, Murat informed the Cardinal that he was married to Caroline only under the Civil Law, and that they desired to contract a marriage " in the face of the Church." Thereupon, Caprara performed the ceremony, in the presence of the same witnesses. A supper was then served, which lasted only a short time, and at which neither the Consuls nor the Cardinal were present. According to " a local tradition," the newly married couple left the following morning for Baillon.

Thus, says M. Masson, was realized the most fervent wish of

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[29] See 1 Masson, 417–418.

[30] This is the version of M. Masson, but Schuermans states (124) that the marriage " was celebrated in the chapel of the Tuileries, by Cardinal Caprara, at one o'clock in the morning, in the presence of the General."

Joséphine; and she felt that she now had, in the favorite brother of Napoleon, an ally to combat the continued attacks of the Bonaparte family: she was assured of her position, not only for the present, but also for the future.[31] She little thought, poor woman, that her new son-in-law was to be her bitterest enemy!

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[31] 1 Masson, 420–421.

CHAPTER SEVEN

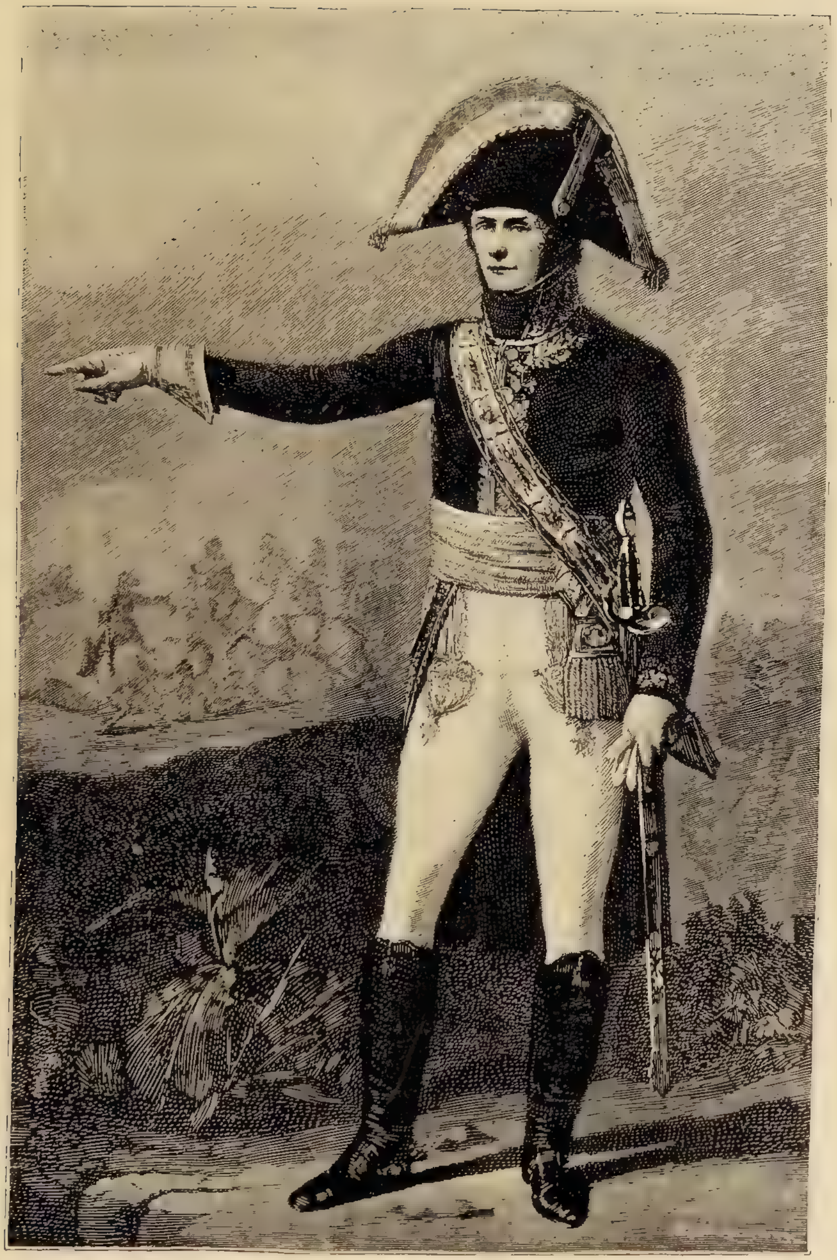
MAY 1800 — JANUARY 1803

PAULINE AND LECLERC

Napoleon Plans for the Recovery of Santo Domingo — He Chooses Leclerc to Command the Expedition — Pauline Ordered to Go with Her Husband — Unfounded Reports Regarding Her — Delay in the Sailing of the Fleet — Fréron on Board — Leclerc's Success — Epidemic of Yellow Fever — New Scandals Regarding Pauline — Her Courage in the Face of Danger — Death of Leclerc — Pauline Sails for France — More Calumnies — Napoleon's Honors to Leclerc

AS SOON as Napoleon became First Consul, he began to lay plans for the recovery of Santo Domingo (Saint-Domingue), formerly the richest and most important colony of France. This island, situated between Cuba and Porto Rico, is the second in area of the four islands which constitute the Greater Antilles. The island of Haiti was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and four years later his brother Bartholomew founded Santo Domingo, the first European town in the New World. The natives, who were very numerous, were soon exterminated by their hard taskmasters, and the negroes, imported from Africa to take their place as laborers, shortly became the vast majority of the population. By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the western end of the island (Haiti) was ceded to France. In 1791, during the French Revolution, the blacks rose against their oppressors, under the leadership of Toussaint l'Ouverture, and gained their independence. Three years previously Spain had ceded to France the eastern part of the island (Santo Domingo), and this also fell under the power of Toussaint.

In negotiating with Spain the retrocession of Louisiana, Napoleon's first object was to have a base of operations in America



VICTOR–EMMANUEL LECLERC
First husband of Pauline Bonaparte

for the expedition which he had in mind. As soon as the preliminaries of peace with England were signed, the first of October 1801, he began his preparations. For the head of the expeditionary force, he needed a man of ability and honesty: one devoted to his interests, and one who joined to a good military reputation the talents of an administrator and a diplomat. The number of such men is never large, and Napoleon could find but one — his brother-in-law Leclerc.[1]

It will be remembered that, after Brumaire, Leclerc was given the command of one of the divisions of the Army of Germany; but he had no opportunity to distinguish himself during the campaign of Hohenlinden, as he was ill the greater part of the time. The following spring, he was sent to Bordeaux to organize the forces for the invasion of Portugal. But when the army advanced into Spain, the chief command was given to Gouvion Saint-Cyr, and the peace of Badajoz deprived Leclerc of any chance to gain new laurels.[2]

In October 1801, Leclerc was recalled to Paris by the First Consul, and notified that he was to be entrusted with the command of the expedition; while, at the same time, Pauline received orders from Napoleon to accompany her husband.

Leclerc accepted the command with considerable reluctance, and his wife was at first in the depths of despair over the prospect of going into "exile in the midst of snakes and savages." [3]

Madame de Rémusat states that the First Consul ordered Pauline to accompany her husband in order to put a stop to an affair which she was carrying on, and which was occasioning considerable gossip. The Rémusat does not mention any names, but the man in question was a celebrated actor of the Comédie-Française, named Pierre Lafon, for whom Pauline was said to have conceived a violent passion.[4] But all of these scandalous reports are based upon the statements of a certain Mlle. Duchesnois, a colleague of Lafon at the Français, who was supposed to be familiar with all the gossip of the theatre. Now, M. Masson points out that Mlle. Duchesnois did not make her début at the Français until the 15 August 1803, twenty-one months after the departure of Pauline for Santo Domingo, and seven months after her return to France. Therefore, Pauline was not "exiled" on account of Lafon.[5]

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[1] *Cf.* 2 Masson, 31.

[2] There does not seem to be any foundation for the charges made by Turquan, on the authority of General Thiébault and Constant, that Leclerc engaged in "shameful contraband enterprises, which brought him plenty of money, but very little consideration"; and that his name "was an object of contempt." (*Cf.* Turquan, 171; Thiébault, 3 *Mémoires,* 209; Constant, 1 *Mémoires,* 187.)

[3] Abrantès, 4 *Mémoires,* 242.

Notwithstanding the pressing orders of the First Consul, there was considerable delay in the departure of the expedition. For this delay, which was to have serious consequences, both Leclerc and his wife have been most unjustly blamed. For such a voyage, the preparations of Leclerc were very quickly made. Arriving in Paris on the 25 October, he received and accepted the same day the appointment of commander-in-chief, and of captain-general of Santo Domingo. He arrived at Brest on the 19 November; but it was nearly a month later (14 December) before the fleet, under the orders of Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, was ready to set sail.

Now for the part of Pauline: "For a fortnight," writes a former officer of the expedition, "the squadron had been ready to put to sea; sailing orders had been received; the wind was favorable; nevertherless, it remained in the harbor. What then prevented its departure? It was a woman! Madame Leclerc!"[6]

Again, there is not the slightest truth in these slanders regarding Pauline. She left Paris with her son on the 13 November, preceding her husband by forty-eight hours, in order to stop overnight on the way. Leclerc, travelling night and day, overtook her on the 17th at Rennes, where they passed the night with Bernadotte. On the 19th, Leclerc reached Brest, where he was received with military honors; Pauline, travelling more slowly, arrived the following day. She had therefore employed only nineteen days in her preparations for such a long voyage, and the fleet did not set sail until *nineteen days after* her arrival at Brest.

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[4] See mémoires of Salgues, Mme. Ducrest, and Mme. de Rémusat.

[5] See 2 Masson, 35–36.

[6] Lemonnier de la Fosse, *Souvenirs historiques*.

As a matter of fact, the loading of the vessels was not finished when Pauline arrived; then, on the 22d, there came a terrible northwest storm, which lasted for two weeks, and caused many disasters on the coasts of France, Holland, and Spain. When all was ready, and the wind favorable, the admiral delayed his departure for two days more, in order to offer a fête to the sister of the First Consul, on his flag-ship, the *Océan,* on which she was to sail. After wasting over three weeks at Brest, he lost more time in the vicinity of Belle-Isle, and again at the Canaries, awaiting the squadron from Rochefort. When, after a voyage of six weeks, he arrived in sight of Cap-Français, Toussaint, warned of his approach, had had time to remove the beacons and the buoys. Not having a pilot, Villaret refused to force the entrance of the port; the Cap was burned, and the whites massacred.[7]

Among the civilians who accompanied the expedition was Pauline's former admirer, Fréron. "By a malicious purpose on the part of her powerful brother," writes Lucien, "she made this long voyage in the company of her ex-Romeo, the handsome Fréron.[8] It is rather difficult to see how Napoleon's action was "malicious." Out of gratitude for what Fréron had done for his family in the past, the First Consul had given a minor appointment on the island to the once powerful deputy, who had fallen on evil days. For the past three years, Fréron had occupied a poorly-paid post as an inspector of hospitals, and he was glad to accept the appointment of prefect of the southern portion of Santo Domingo. It is rather remarkable that the scandal-mongers have not accused Pauline of renewing with her "dear idol" the interrupted romance of 1796.

As soon as he was landed, Leclerc achieved a decisive success, which fully compensated for the previous disasters. With his small force of twenty thousand men, in forty days he conquered and pacified the entire island. Toussaint made his submission;

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[7] 2 Masson, 35–38.

[8] Jung, 2 *Op. cit.*, 414.

but, on proof of new treachery, was arrested, and sent to France, where he died in captivity two years later.[9]

The administration of the island was reorganized; the industries were reëstablished, and the ports were soon crowded with French merchandise. Napoleon, much pleased with the zeal and activity of his brother-in-law, wrote him: "You are in the way of acquiring great glory; the Republic will enable you to enjoy a corresponding fortune; my friendship for you is unchangeable."

Although all of the problems had not been solved, especially that of slavery, they probably would have been, with time and a sufficient armed force. But Napoleon, anticipating a renewal of hostilities with England, was continually pressing Leclerc to finish his task; and at the same time, for the same reason, refused to send him the promised reënforcements. For the same reason also, Napoleon at this time sold Louisiana to the United States. Leclerc therefore found himself without money, without soldiers, without supplies, and with no base in the New World.

Then the yellow fever broke out — one of the worst epidemics ever known in America. In a brief space of time there died: 1500 officers, 750 medical attendants, 25,000 soldiers, 8000 marines, and 2000 civil employés.

Leclerc, who with his wife and his little son had retired to the Île de la Tortue, to recruit his health, already impaired by the climate, was recalled by the news of another uprising of the blacks. Their submission had been only a feint, to gain time until the advent of the unhealthy season, when they calculated to resume hostilities with every prospect of success.

Pauline returned with her husband, and again took up her residence at Cap-Français, in the one commodious house which had not been burned. Her biographers, while admitting that they have "no precise information" on the subject, insinuate that the sister of the First Consul led a very dissolute life while on the island, and that she even extended her favors to certain gentlemen of color. But these vile slanders are based only on the spurious memoirs of Fouché, and a malicious insinuation by Chancellor Pasquier. They are therefore beneath contempt.[10]

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[9] Toward the end of May 1802, Toussaint wrote to one of his spies at the Cap: "La Providence [the hospital] is coming to my assistance. . . . Let me know when Leclerc falls ill." Much undeserved sympathy has been wasted on this "black Washington," whose heart was as black as his hide!

On the 13 September, all the blacks who had enlisted under the French flag deserted in a body, and three days later they attacked the Cap. To defend the town against these 10,000 negroes, Leclerc had but 2000 men, of whom only 500 were French soldiers.

Fearing for the worst, Leclerc sent an aide de camp with orders to remove his wife and son, if necessary by force, to one of the vessels in the harbor. As he had anticipated, Pauline refused to leave; so four grenadiers raised the armchair in which she was sitting, and bore it to the shore. "Very well!" said Pauline, with a pout, "but I will not embark." Arrived at the harbor, another aide de camp appeared, with the news that the attack had been repulsed, and that they could return to the government-house. Then Pauline said calmly, "I knew that I should not embark."

With but 3000 men left, of 34,000 who had landed on the island, Leclerc could defend only a few points along the coast. On the 22 October 1802, he was attacked by the fever, and died ten days later, on the night of the 1-2 November. Before his death, he gave orders to his chief of staff to remove his wife and son to the Île de la Tortue, and send them back to France by the first vessel available.

The body of Leclerc was embalmed, in the Egyptian manner, and placed in a casket of lead, for transportation to France. His heart was enclosed in a golden urn, which bore the inscription:

PAULETTE BONAPARTE, married to General Leclerc the 20 prairial an V, has enclosed within this urn her love beside the heart of her husband of whom she shared the dangers and the glory. His son will not receive this sad and precious heritage of his father without receiving that of his virtues.

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[10] See the works of Turquan (182), and Almeras; also Fouché, 2 *Mémoires,* 45; and Pasquier's *Mémoires* (1, 403), in which he writes: "She astonished the sun of the tropics by her ardor in pleasures."

Seven days after the death of her husband, Pauline sailed for France on the *Swiftsure,* a vessel captured from the British, which also bore the mortal remains of the brave general. Even during this sad voyage, Pauline was not to be free from the venomous tongues of her detractors. It has been said that she formed a liaison with a certain General Humbert, who was on the same vessel.[11] But this story will not stand investigation. Humbert, accused of treason, caught in peculations, had been sent home by Leclerc, and arrived in France the 17 October, two weeks before the date of Leclerc's death. He was tried, found guilty, and dishonorably dismissed from the army on the 13 January 1803, at which date the passengers on the *Swiftsure* were still in quarantine at Toulon.

"At this moment — perhaps the only one in her life — Paulette, poor Paulette with her shaved head, widow at twenty-two years of a man whom she loved, the only one who ever inspired her with a little fear, was not thinking of seeking for adoration."[12]

Pauline had never fully recovered from her first confinement: she was suffering from an indisposition, at that time incurable, which kept her most of the time on her back, and made travelling in carriages, or even walking, very painful. Besides, she suffered during the voyage from *mal de mer,* and passed most of the time in her cabin. "Voilà de belles conditions pour une amoureuse! "[13]

Few women in history have ever been so maligned as Pauline Bonaparte. She was no *Sainte-Nitouche,* but she was also far from being the Messalina depicted by her biographers.[14] She loved her "little Leclerc," and sincerely mourned his death. As soon as she arrived at Toulon, she wrote Napoleon: "I have reached Toulon, after a terrible voyage, with broken health; and this is only the least of my troubles. I have brought with me the remains of my poor Leclerc. Pity the poor Paulette, who is very unhappy."

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[11] See Turquan, 181.

[12] 2 Masson, 230.

[13] 2 Masson, 231.

[14] Almeras writes: "The list of her lovers rivalled in length that of the mistresses of Don Juan."

The First Consul had already learned of the death of Leclerc, by a swift brig which brought despatches to Brest. "I have lost my right arm," he said. As soon as the *Swiftsure* was reported, he sent his aide de camp Lauriston to Toulon, to escort Pauline to Paris. At the same time, he gave orders to render unusual honors to the memory of Leclerc. The *Moniteur* of the 9 January 1803 announced: "The First Consul will put on mourning to-morrow, and will wear it for ten days." From Toulon, the remains of Leclerc were taken to Marseille, where the funeral was held, with almost royal pomp. During the course of the slow journey to Montgobert, where Leclerc had wished to be buried, the funeral cortège was everywhere received with the highest honors: the city authorities were in full dress, the garrisons were under arms, and salutes were fired.

But the French people remained cold and indifferent. The First Consul, realizing that his effort had failed, abandoned the idea of having the body rest in state in the Invalides, and gave orders for the procession to go around the city. The final service was celebrated rather informally at Villers-Cotterets; and two weeks later the casket was transported, without further ceremonies, to Montgobert, where it was placed in a temporary tomb.

Napoleon endeavored to assure Leclerc of immortality, when he wrote: "The captain-general Leclerc was an officer of the first merit, fitted at once for the work of the cabinet and the manœuvres of the field of battle." It is doubtful, however, whether this eulogy has even been confirmed by the judgment of History.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MAY 1800 — JANUARY 1803

FORTUNES OF THE BONAPARTES

Madame Bonaparte — Cardinal Fesch — Joseph's Rapid Rise — Lucien in Spain — His Enormous *Gratifications* — His Failure As a Diplomatist — His Return to Paris — His Magnificent Hôtel and Picture Gallery — Élisa, and Her Affair with Fontanes — Hortense Deserted by Louis — Her Life at the Tuileries and Malmaison — Scandal About Her and Napoleon — Birth of Napoleon-Charles

DURING the year which Pauline spent in the Antilles, the other members of the family had continued their upward march, of which we must now briefly mark the progress and indicate the steps.

Madame Bonaparte *mère* had no particular rôle to play, but was content to live a life of rich indolence. Without confidence in the stability of the marvellous fortunes of the family, she hoarded up her money, and invested it in every country in Europe. She was so secretive about her affairs that she preferred to lose her investments rather than to acknowledge that they existed. It was only by accident that Alquier, the French minister to Naples, learned in March 1803 that five or six years before she had deposited a sum of fifty thousand francs with a banker of that city named Forquet, and that this banker having been robbed, she had lost her credit. She had said nothing; had made no complaint to the First Consul, and it was only through the zeal of Alquier that she finally recovered her money.

Although Joseph offered her hospitality, she lived by preference with her half-brother, Fesch, in his superb mansion, corner of the rues Mont-Blanc and Saint-Lazare, which he had purchased in March 1800. In this Hôtel Hocquart, she furnished, quite plainly, the rooms which she occupied.

She was very devoted to her children — especially to those who were in any way unfortunate. No one could attempt to *faire du mal* to any one of them without arousing her Corsican temper. When her favorite son, Lucien, was disgraced, she rushed to the Tuileries, and remonstrated with the First Consul. She made charges against Fouché; and accused Joséphine, in the presence of Napoleon, of being in the pay of the Minister of Police, and his accomplice in this conspiracy against her dear Lucien. Napoleon was forced to intervene, to protect his wife and impose silence on his mother.

In 1802, Joseph Fesch was thirty-nine years of age, having been born at Ajaccio the 3 January 1763. His childhood had been spent in Corsica, where he was the playmate of his unruly little nephew, Napoleon, to whom he taught the alphabet. Destined for the church, he had been sent in 1778 to the seminary at Aix. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 found him installed as archdeacon of Ajaccio. When the religious orders were suppressed, he retired into private life, and followed the fortunes of the Bonapartes. On the appointment of Napoleon to the command of the Army of Italy, he was given a position as commissary, where he laid the foundations of his large fortune. When his nephew was made First Consul, the advancement of Fesch was very rapid. He took a leading part in the negotiations for the Concordat, and a year later, 29 July 1802, was named Archbishop of Lyon. In January 1803, at the request of Napoleon, he received the red hat of a cardinal.

No member of the clan had made better use of his opportunities than Fesch. At the close of the eighteenth century, he was the richest real estate owner in Corsica, and the possessor of one of the finest hôtels in Paris, with a gallery renowned throughout Europe.

The first of November 1802, Fesch had not yet left Paris for his diocese, and it required two positive orders from the First Consul to get him started. Notwithstanding his large fortune, and the fact that he received 15,000 francs as archbishop, 30,000 as a member of the Consular family, 15,000 as cardinal, with 15,000 additional for expenses of installation, he pretended to be short of funds. The first donation he received, of 50,000, did not satisfy him, and Napoleon had to double it before he would set out. Finally, the first of January 1803, he departed for Lyon.

The advancement of Joseph had also been remarkably rapid. From the day in the spring of 1796, that Napoleon sent him to Paris to explain to the Directory the reason for the armistice of Cherasco, Joseph had been employed in nearly all the peace negotiations — with the Pope, with the United States, with the Emperor, and with Great Britain. Aside from the glory he gained, his pecuniary rewards were enormous, for in those days one made a fortune in signing treaties.[1]

Joseph took a great deal of pride in his magnificent country estate of Mortefontaine, which he was continually enlarging and embellishing. At Paris, in August 1801, he had purchased the Hôtel Marbeuf, considered one of the most beautiful and luxurious private houses in the city. Constructed in 1717 by Blouin, a valet de chambre of Louis the Fourteenth, it opened by a large court upon the Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, with a garden in the rear, extending as far as the Champs-Élysées.

When the Légion d'honneur was founded, Joseph became one of the seven members of the Grand Council. He was also given a seat in the Senate, and received an annual allowance of 120,000 francs. As he had no sons, he was not considered in the line of succession.[2]

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[1] To give one example: after the Treaty of Amiens, Joseph received from Holland alone a "diplomatic present" of 100,000 francs, with a promise of 500,000 more if, in the general peace, Holland obtained certain territorial advantages. This custom does not seem to have been understood in the United States. When President John Adams, in October 1797, sent three envoys to Paris, they were very discreetly informed by Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he should expect an honorarium of a million francs. On their return to America, the envoys published the proofs of this "venality" on the part of Talleyrand, which excited much unfavorable comment. (See *The French Revolution,* 355–356.)

[2] His third daughter, Charlotte, was born at Mortefontaine 31 October 1802.

After a prolonged stay at Bordeaux, under the pretext that there was an epidemic of plague in Spain, Lucien arrived at Madrid on the 6 December 1800. Here he assumed the pose, not of an ambassador, but of " a gentleman of princely race," come to arrange, upon a footing of equality with the sovereigns, the relations between the two countries. His house was kept on a regal scale, and he endeavored to dazzle the Court and the city with his luxury.[3]

" I am overwhelmed with favors," he wrote; " I have broken the barriers of etiquette; I talk affairs with the King and Queen; the Prince of Peace, far from being alarmed, is rejoiced."

Within two months after his arrival, Lucien negotiated no less than three treaties: on the 29 January 1801, a treaty of alliance for the invasion of Portugal, if that nation did not consent to abandon the alliance with Great Britain; on the 13 February, a convention on the subject of the land and sea operations against England and her colonies; on the 31 March, a treaty for the cession to France of Parma, Tuscany, and Louisiana.

As already stated, it was customary at that period for plenipotentiaries to receive, upon the signing of treaties, presents of great value. These were sometimes in cash, but more often in the form of diamonds, usually set in a snuff-box, or around a miniature of the sovereign. Under the Ancien Régime, such gifts were rarely in excess of 30,000 livres, and were usually much less. As these treaties with Spain were not " treaties of peace or alliance," the First Consul refused " to give anything." But Lucien, by his own admission, received at this time from the Court of Madrid twenty paintings of great value, from the Royal galleries, besides diamonds worth nearly six million francs!

The King of Spain, Charles the Fourth, had no idea of seriously making war on his son-in-law, the Prince Regent of Portugal, and the military operations, conducted by Godoy, were a farce, ending in the comedy of Badajoz. The King and Queen went to this place, accompanied by Lucien, to whom was accorded the honor of presiding over the negotiations. Without any authority, and against the instructions of his brother, Lucien signed, in the name of France, a treaty which had "neither diplomatic form nor style," and which contained a number of "inconceivable" articles. The Portuguese envoys thought that the First Consul would not disavow his brother, but they were mistaken: Napoleon absolutely refused his ratification, and in terms which left no hope.

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[3] 2 Masson, 13.

For his part in this transaction, Lucien received from Portugal a quantity of uncut Brazilian diamonds, which were of greater value than those previously given him by the Court of Madrid.

Napoleon tried to make the blow to Lucien's pride as light as he could. "Can it be possible," he wrote, "that with your intelligence and your knowledge of the human heart, you have let yourself be taken in by the cajoleries of a Court, and that you have not the means of making Spain understand her own true interests?" By Talleyrand, and by Berthier, Napoleon also wrote, to explain the political and military reasons which had determined his course.

But Lucien either could not or would not understand. He could not get over the terrible blow to his pride; and he was perhaps even more troubled to know whether he should keep or return the magnificent presents he had received. "There was only one way out of his embarrassment: to leave, and to leave at once."[4]

In a tone of humility, remarkable in his case, Lucien wrote his brother: "In your letters you point out all the blunders I have made, in your opinion, in my negotiations. I do not deny that I am wanting in many respects; for some time I have realized that I am too young for affairs, consequently I wish to retire, in order to acquire what I lack. . . . I plan to leave in three days for Madrid, and there await my successor."[5]

But Napoleon refused to recall his brother, or to name his successor. In order to heal the vanity of Lucien, and cover his retreat, the First Consul reserved for him the honor of signing the new treaty with Portugal, negotiated directly from Paris. Finally, on the 29 September, this famous treaty was signed by Lucien; but he had still to wait for its ratification, and proclamation at Paris. Leaving Madrid on the 9 November, and travelling night and day, he arrived in Paris on the 14th.

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[4] 2 Masson, 17.

[5] Letter of the 28 June 1801.

Abandoning his mansion in the Rue Verte to his sister Élisa, a week after his return (21 November) Lucien leased for three years, at an annual rental of 12,000 francs, the magnificent Hôtel de Brienne,[6] Rue Saint-Dominique.

With the ten millions which Lucien brought back from Spain, equivalent to ten times that sum to-day, he was probably the richest member of the family. Napoleon, therefore, did not think it necessary to make him any allowance from the *Grande Cassette*: his name is the only one in the family which does not appear on the books.

In July 1802, Lucien purchased for 300,000 francs the hôtel which he had occupied as tenant since the previous December. Although the house was considered one of the most sumptuous in Paris, he was not satisfied, and spent over a million francs in alterations. In his galleries, he installed his magnificent collection of paintings, one of the finest in Europe. He employed expert buyers, who acquired, regardless of price, the rarest and most famous pictures to be found on the Continent: of the one hundred and thirty-seven paintings in his gallery, of which we possess engravings, all were by masters, such as Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Teniers, Paul Potter, Vélasquez, Murillo, Titien, and Léonard di Vinci — to mention only a few of the names. But, in those days, masterpieces were not in great demand, and Lucien acquired some of his choicest works for what would now be considered a ridiculous price. Even twenty years later, in 1821, he asked only 69,000 francs for three of his finest paintings.

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[6] This hôtel is now the Ministry of War. After Lucien's exile, it was occupied during the Empire by Madame Mère, whose boudoir is still conserved there. For a full description of the building, see 2 Masson, 173–174.

After the death of Lucien's wife, in May 1800, his sister Élisa had come to live with him at Plessis, and filled the place of their mother to his little daughters, Charlotte (*Lolotte*) and Égypta (*Lili*). For some unknown reason, Lucien saw fit to take the baby, Lili, with him to Spain, but Lolotte remained in Paris with her aunt. Upon his return, Élisa was installed as mistress in his city hôtel and his country château. But, after the autumn of 1801, Élisa began gradually to draw apart from Lucien. She was now independent, for Napoleon had made her an allowance of 60,000 francs. The following summer, she occupied the property of her sister Murat, at Neuilly; and the last of March 1803, she purchased the fine Hôtel Maurepas, Rue de la Chaise. On this occasion, Napoleon gave her 100,000 francs, to make the first payment.

At this time, Élisa was very intimate with the poet Fontanes, who owed to her his future positions of president of the Corps Législatif and grand master of the University of Paris. Her official biographer, M. Marmottan, energetically defends Élisa from " certain authors little scrupulous, who assert that Fontanes was her lover. . . . He loved certainly, but as a dreamer, a philosopher, nothing more." This, however, does not seem to be the opinion of Masson, Lévy, and Turquan. It is true that Fontanes was not very attractive: he was a fat little man, with very brusque manners, and he was twenty years older than the lady; but Élisa herself was so unattractive that she was ready to welcome any attentions from the other sex. Besides, her husband, Bacciochi, was a nullity, whom she could neither love nor respect.

Louis had been married, and installed in the little hôtel of the Rue de la Victoire, for only a few days, before his jealousy, and suspicions of Joséphine, overcame the love that he had thought he felt for Hortense before their union. Under the pretext of work to supervise at his estate of Baillon, he left for the country. Returning to Paris, he departed again, the first of March, to rejoin his regiment at Joigny. From there he went in May to

Bagnères-de-Bigorre, and later to Barèges, where he tried every known fashion of taking the waters.

Abandoned by her husband almost from the first month of her marriage, Hortense was necessarily thrown upon the society of her mother and her stepfather. More of her time was spent at the Tuileries and at Malmaison than in her own home. During the absence of Joséphine at Plombières (15 June to 9 July), she did the honors of the château at Malmaison. Is it remarkable that this daily intimacy between a stepfather of thirty years and a stepdaughter of nineteen should have given rise to suspicion? It was soon whispered in the royalist salons of the Faubourg Saint-Germain that Napoleon was the lover of Hortense; and this scandal was repeated by the members of his own family, who all hated the Beauharnais. The news was gleefully printed by the London papers, and quickly spread to every city in Europe. Napoleon was touched to the quick, and his dislike of England was turned into a profound hatred, which had not a little to do with his future policy regarding that country.

Under the circumstances, Napoleon thought that Hortense had better not live at the Tuileries, during the absence of her husband. He, therefore, purchased for 184,000 francs a larger and more comfortable residence, at No. 16, in the Rue de la Victoire, and presented it to Louis and Hortense (July 1802). Here, on the 10 October, Hortense gave birth to her first child, Napoleon-Charles. Louis, summoned from Barèges by a peremptory order from his brother, arrived in Paris only a few days before the interesting event.

On the 13 October, the *Moniteur* published the news, and for the first time gave the honors of small capitals to any member of the family:

MADAME LOUIS BONAPARTE est accouchée d'un garçon le 18 vendémiarie, à 9 heures du soir.

To return for a moment to Lucien's statement, that *le cas était urgent,* we have, in the dates, material proofs, even if moral evidence were not sufficient to destroy any suspicions. Hortense was married on the 4 January, and her child was born on the 10 October; moreover, the First Consul left Paris for Lyon on the 9 January, and did not return until the first day of February. The case, therefore, was *not* urgent![7]

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[7] See Masson, *Napoléon et les femmes*, 178.

CHAPTER NINE

JANUARY — DECEMBER, 1803

SECOND MARRIAGE OF PAULINE

Pauline's Return to France — Her Journey to Paris — Her Limited Resources — She Purchases the Hôtel Charost — Her Ennui — Her Flirtation with Decrès — Napoleon's Inquietude — He Offers Her Hand to Melzi — His Refusal — Prince Borghèse Arrives in Paris — His Family — His Character and Appearance — Angiolini Suggests His Marriage with Pauline — Their First Meeting — The Marriage Arranged — Consent of His Mother and of the First Consul — Joséphine Writes Hortense — Satisfaction at Rome — The Marriage Contract — The Question of Mourning Arises — Mme. Bonaparte Intervenes — A "Marriage of Conscience" — Napoleon Not Informed — Guardianship of Dermide — The Civil Marriage — Napoleon Not Present — His Anger — Departure of the Bride and Groom

AT DAWN on the first day of January 1803, the watchers on Cap Brun signalled a large warship, flying her flag at half-mast. As the vessel drew nearer, it was recognized as the *Swiftsure*,[1] returning to Toulon, and bringing home the sister of the First Consul, with the remains of her husband.

After two weeks of quarantine, Pauline was detained another week at Toulon by the state of her health. Besides the trouble, already mentioned, from which she never entirely recovered,[2] she had on her hand a very painful ulcer, which finally was cured, but later came back several times, in spite of all the efforts of the surgeons.[3] But, notwithstanding all of her troubles, and the loss of her hair, Pauline was still beautiful. "Although weak and suffering, and dressed in a sad mourning costume," writes Mme. de Rémusat, " she seemed to me the most charming person that I had ever seen in my life." [4]

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[1] The *Swiftsure* was a British ship of the line, of 74 guns, which had been captured by a French fleet on the 21 June 1801. This was the first engagement in which Jérôme Bonaparte took part, and he was sent on board the vessel to receive the captain's sword. The First Consul had thought that it was a good joke on *perfide Albion* to retain under the French flag the name given the ship by the Lords of the Admiralty.

[2] 1 Rémusat, 200.

[3] 5 Abrantès, 112.

It was the last of January before Pauline was able to start for Paris. On the first of February, she arrived at Lyon, where she passed three days with her uncle Fesch, who had been installed in his see for about a month. The episcopal palace was still so sparsely furnished, however, that Fesch was obliged to give her his own apartment. She required another seven days to make the journey to Paris, where she arrived on the 11 February, and took up her residence with Joseph.

In spite of the generally accredited reports that she brought back enormous treasures, and was at present " the richest member of the family," Pauline had only a very moderate fortune. The estate of Leclerc, divided between his wife and son, amounted to less than 600,000 francs; to this sum should be added about 500,000 francs in credits, of which a large part proved uncollectable. Leclerc, who was of a very generous disposition, had made large loans to his friends, and many of these were never repaid.[5] Indeed, if the First Consul had not given Pauline an allowance of 60,000 francs, the same amount as already granted to her two sisters, she would have found it difficult to maintain her social position.

During the months of February and March, Pauline passed all her time in the Hôtel Marbeuf, except for a few days she spent at Mortefontaine. She was not present at any of the large dinners given every ten days by the First Consul, prior to his departure for Belgium (24 June).

In April, she became tired of living with Joseph, and decided to buy a home of her own. Her choice fell on the Hôtel Charost,[6]

[4] 1 Rémusat, 200.

[5] Before his departure for the Antilles, Leclerc had also given a dot of 150,000 francs to his younger sister, on the occasion of her marriage to General Davout. (2 Masson, 236.)

[6] This hôtel was built in 1720 for the Duc de Charost, *gouverneur* of Louis the Fifteenth. After the fall of the Empire, it was purchased by the Duke of Wellington for the British Government, and has since been the English Embassy.

separated by only one building from Joseph's residence; opening likewise on the Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, and having a garden extending to the Champs-Élysées.

The contract price was 400,000 francs, and the title passed by private deed (*seing privé*), Pauline paying down only 22,000 francs. In addition, she expended at once some 50,000 francs for repairs and new furniture. At first, she found it a real pleasure to drive from shop to shop, in her *own* carriage, the first she had ever possessed at Paris; but she soon tired of this diversion, and began to suffer from ennui. Although her mourning garb was marvellously becoming to her, she detested black almost as much as her great brother, the First Consul. Then, she began to long again for the admiration which was so necessary to her happiness. "What was the use of making herself attractive, to please no one, to be seen by no one, and to receive from no one a compliment? — Better be dead!"[7]

For a short time, she carried on quite a lively flirtation with the fat old Decrès, twenty years her senior, who became so smitten that he actually lost flesh. But what could Pauline do with this bluff old sea-dog, with his tastes, his manners, his turn of mind — a rear-admiral, now Minister of the Marine, to be sure, but destined to remain always a subaltern?

Napoleon, who was following this affair with some inquietude, began to fear that his lively young sister, through sheer ennui, would end *par des sottises*.[8] He therefore decided to find a new husband for Pauline. His first choice was Melzi, the Vice-President of the new Italian Republic: comte at Milan, marquis at Turin, prince at Naples, grandee of the first class at Madrid, he was a very great personage indeed, and, in respect both of birth and position, he was everything that Napoleon could desire in a brother-in-law. Moreover, he was a man of real ability and high character, held in much esteem throughout Italy, who would, by his alliance, strengthen Napoleon's position in the Peninsula. The only drawback was, that he was thirty years older than Pauline; but this did not seem, to Napoleon, a serious obstacle.

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[7] 2 Masson, 240.

[8] There is no trustworthy evidence to support the assertions of Turquan that, at this time, "she carried on several liaisons quite openly." (See *Les sœurs de Napoléon.*)

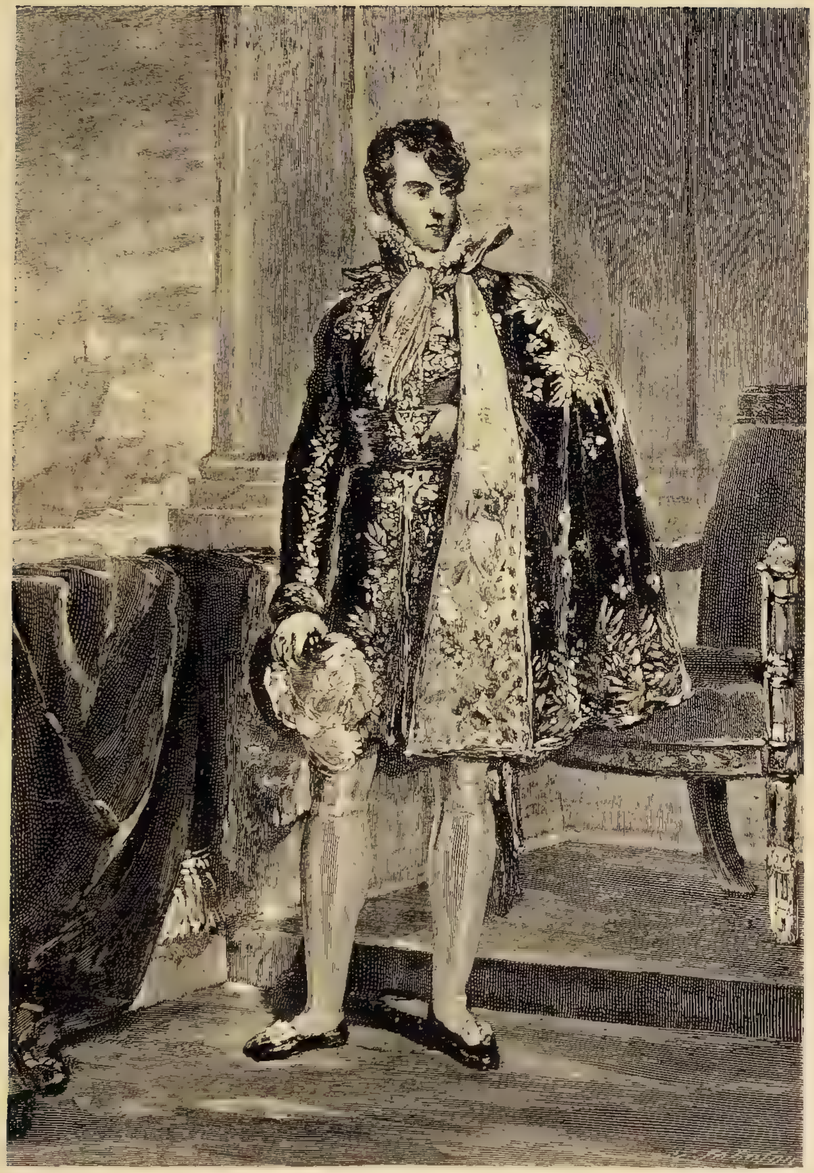
Accordingly, the First Consul sent one of his aides de camp to Milan, to inform Melzi of the distinguished honor in store for him. But, much to the chagrin of Napoleon, the proposition was politely declined. Having lived for fifty years without a wife, Melzi was not inclined to change his ways of life, and take a spouse as young and lively as Pauline.

During this same month of April 1803, there arrived in Paris a traveller of note: *il signor principe don Camillo Borghese.* He was the head of one of the most illustrious, and without question the most wealthy, of the great Roman families. Although the Borghese had only been enrolled among the Roman aristocracy for two centuries, they had some of the noblest blood of Italy running in their veins. They owned a principality of eighty estates in the Roman campagna, a splendid mansion in Florence, a palace in Rome, " as large as a town," and, just outside the gates, the famous Villa Borghese, with the finest private art collection in all Europe.

The heir of this great fortune was at that time a very handsome young man of twenty-eight years, with regular features, brilliant dark eyes, curly black hair, and a figure which, if rather short, was well-proportioned. He was amiable, good-natured, and possessed of " a certain natural intelligence," although his education had been entirely neglected. He could not write even his own language correctly, and he knew only a few words of French.

On his arrival at Paris he took a furnished apartment in the handsome Hôtel Pinon, where he employed the concierge to give him lessons in French. He did not lose any time in presenting his letters to the cardinal legate, and was introduced by Caprara to the First Consul at the diplomatic reception on the 3 April, the first one held after his arrival.

If Camillo passed much of his time at first with his concierge, he soon made other, and more distinguished connections — especially with Angiolini, at that moment the official representa-



PRINCE CAMILLO BORGHESE

Second husband of Pauline Bonaparte

tive at Paris of the former Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was later to become well known at the Court of the Tuileries as the Grand Duke of Würzburg.[9]

It was Angiolini who first conceived the idea that Borghèse [10] would make a good *parti* for Pauline. He made some tentative approaches to Madame Bonaparte *mère* and Joseph, which were so well received that, on the 6 June, Camillo was invited to pass a day at Mortefontaine. Caprara, who was cognizant of the plans, was also invited, and arrived the previous evening.

The match-makers had every reason to be satisfied with the first move in the game. The prince made no efforts to conceal his admiration for the lovely Pauline, and the lady was dazzled, if not by the personality of the prince, at least by his position and fortune. She was tired of her mourning garb, and the secluded life she had led for the past five months. Then, she was charmed by the idea of being a princess — a *real* princess — and taking precedence over her jealous sisters, Élisa and Caroline. Even Joséphine and Hortense would be green with envy! She would reside in a palace as big as the Tuileries, and in villas in comparison with which Malmaison and Mortefontaine would seem like modest country houses. She would wear the famous Borghèse diamonds, the most magnificent in Europe. The prospect was indeed glorious!

Several days after the visit to Mortefontaine, Angiolini was authorized by Joseph to see the prince and make formal overtures. Caprara had previously spoken to the First Consul, who raised no objections, but preferred to remain in the back-ground, allowing Joseph to act in his capacity of chief of the family.[11]

On the 19 June, Angiolini had a talk with the prince, and wrote Joseph: " Borghèse has been more alarmed than surprised by the project; . . . it does not seem to him possible that it can be carried out." Two days later he writes: " The matter is arranged. Prince Borghèse will believe himself too happy if the First Consul will indeed grant him the honor of having for his spouse your very amiable sister, Madame Paulette." He only asked that the matter be kept secret until he could obtain the formal consent of his mother.

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[9] He was a brother of the Emperor Francis, of Austria, and uncle of the Empress Marie-Louise. (See *Napoleon and Marie Louise*, 120, 231.)

[10] In French, the name is always written with an accent.

[11] 2 Masson, 250.

Borghèse then had a conference with Cardinal Caprara and Joseph, to discuss the terms of the letter to the princess-dowager, and the means of transmitting it, so as to escape the indiscretions of the post. This matter took some time, for it was not until the 28 June that the secretary of Borghèse left for Rome, bearing the letters from the prince to his mother, and another from Caprara to the Secretary of State, soliciting the approval of the Holy Father.

At the same time, Pauline wrote her brother to ask his consent. This letter, which reached the First Consul at Lille, was no news to him, but seems to have been to Joséphine. On the 9 July, she wrote her daughter, Hortense: "You doubtless know that Madame Leclerc is going to marry Prince Borghèse. She wrote Bonaparte two days ago to say that she wanted him for her husband, and that she thought she would be very happy with him. She asks Bonaparte to give his permission for Prince Borghèse to write him to demand her hand. It seems that it is Joseph and M. Angelini [*sic*] who have made the match. In case the family have not spoken to you of the matter, do not say anything." [12]

It is difficult to find in this letter any grounds for the statement of M. Masson that it showed that Joséphine was hostile to Pauline, and disposed to embrace the quarrel of Davout and the Leclerc family, who were bitterly opposed to the marriage.[13]

At Rome, the news was received with positive enthusiasm. "His Holiness," writes Fesch to the First Consul, "was enchanted; the Roman nobility has testified its satisfaction, and the Princesse Borghèse is extremely pleased. . . . She has sent to Paris her second son, Prince Aldobrandini, in token of her approbation. It is a family which has a revenue of 100,000 piastres [about 500,000 francs]. . . . Behold me related to the first family in Rome! "[14]

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[12] 2 *Lettres de Napoléon à Joséphine,* 228.

[13] See 2 Masson, 252.

Speaking later, at Saint Helena, Napoleon said that the Bonapartes were generally regarded as an Italian family, and, " when the marriage of my sister Pauline with Prince Borghèse was announced, there was only one voice, at Rome and in Tuscany, in this family and all its connections: *C'est bien! C'est entre nous, c'est une de nos familles!* "[15]

The first of August, the marriage was announced by the Paris journals. At the same time, the marriage contract was drawn up, Angiolini representing Borghèse, and Joseph acting on behalf of Pauline. The First Consul agreed to give his sister a dot of 500,000 francs, to which Pauline added a sum of 300,000 francs. These 800,000 francs were to be paid to the husband, who was to enjoy the income during his life, but was to allow his wife 20,000 francs a year for her toilettes. In the event of the prince dying first, the dowery was to revert to Pauline, who was also to receive an income of 50,000 francs, to have the use for her lifetime of certain apartments in the Palazzo Borghese, and to be provided with two carriages. On the 23 August, the articles were signed by Camillo and Pauline at the Hôtel Charost. The banns had been published on the 14 and 21 August at Mortefontaine, which Pauline had claimed as her residence, in order to avoid the publicity of Paris. It seemed as though all the formalities had been completed, and that nothing remained except to fix the date of the marriage ceremony. Here, however, a difficulty arose: they had forgotten " poor Leclerc." Under the new Civil Code, a widow could contract a new marriage at the end of ten months: as Leclerc had died on the 2 November 1802, Pauline might therefore marry again at any date subsequent to the first of September. But there was another impediment which they had overlooked: a year previously, the First Consul had formally reëstablished the custom of the Ancien Régime, which prescribed a year and six weeks of mourning for the loss of a husband. This would put off the

[14] Letter of 3 July 1803, quoted 2 Masson, 253–254.

[15] *Mémorial,* 6 August 1816.

date until the middle of December. As a special dispensation in the case of Paulette, the big brother was willing to cut off the odd six weeks, but he would not consent to the marriage taking place before the first of November.

At this point, Madame Bonaparte *mère* intervened, and ordered that " the marriage should take effect." During the last days of August, or, more probably, on the first day of September, Pauline and Borghèse were married at Mortefontaine, by an Italian priest, perhaps Cardinal Caprara himself, in the presence of Joseph, Lucien, and Angiolini. The exact date is uncertain, because the parish registers of Mortefontaine prior to 1804 cannot be found; and, besides, the marriage could not legally be recorded, under the Code, as there had been no previous civil ceremony. But the fact is attested by letters of Borghèse and Angiolini.[16]

Upon the strength of admissions made by Madame Bonaparte, by Joseph and Lucien, by Caprara and Angiolini, it may be said that it was *un mariage de conscience.* M. Mason, by the way, makes no comment on the matter, being presumably of the opinion that the words admit of but one explanation. " The answer is no doubt to be found in the ardor of the Italian temperament, and in what Saint Jerome says concerning the virtue of widows." [17]

But the secret was so carefully kept that the intimate terms on which Pauline lived with Borghèse gave rise to reports that he was her lover, and there was a public scandal. Society was indignant that the First Consul should tolerate such morals in his own family; and, when the marriage became public, there were many to affirm that it was he who had insisted on this act of reparation.[18]

Napoleon, however, was so entirely ignorant of what had taken place at Mortefontaine, and of what was going on there, that, on the 25 September, he invited Pauline, without Borghèse, to a large dinner at the Tuileries, and afterwards took her with him to pass several days at Saint-Cloud. A month later (23 October), he gave another large dinner, to which Borghèse was invited, and which Napoleon regarded as a *dîner de fiançailles,* for, in two weeks, the marriage was to be celebrated officially, with his full assent.

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[16] See 2 Masson, 258.

[17] 1 Noel-Williams, 345.

[18] See 1 Rémusat, 263. None of the biographers of the Bonaparte family, except M. Masson, seems to have been aware of this secret marriage, and we owe the information to his careful researches. (See 2 Masson, 257–258.)

On the 5 November, there was held a family council, to decide regarding the guardianship of Pauline's son, Dermide. The Leclerc family, quite naturally, desired that the boy should remain in France, and receive a French education. But they were over-ruled by the Bonaparte clan, who were present in full force.

The following day, the whole Bonaparte family was to go to Mortefontaine for the official celebration of the marriage, but the First Consul was absent — he had left suddenly for Boulogne on the 3 November. In some unknown way he had learned the truth at last, and he was enraged at having been so long deceived by his favorite sister, by his mother, by his brothers, by Caprara — in short, by every one. What had been a *secret de polichinelle* had been a real secret to him. It was a new experience for Napoleon to be taken in so completely, and he did not relish it. The only punishment that he could inflict on Pauline was to absent himself from her wedding, and this course he took. Joséphine, however, was present, and all the other members of the Consular family. By orders of the First Consul, the formal notice in the official journal was restricted to two lines: " Mme. Leclerc s'est mariée avec le prince Borghèse; le mariage a été célébré à Mortefontaine." But Pauline probably found some consolation for so quiet a wedding in the magnificent presents from her husband. He had previously given her 45,000 francs, " to buy what she pleased," besides jewels to the value of 58,000 francs, and he now placed in her *corbeille* the famous Borghèse diamonds.

Napoleon also showed his displeasure by refusing to accredit Pauline officially to Rome. " Paulette," he wrote Joseph, " writes me that her marriage has been *published,* and that she leaves to-morrow for Rome. It would seem proper for you or mama to write the mother of Borghèse to recommend Paulette to her." That was all; and there is a world of meaning in the word *published*.

As another mark of his resentment, Napoleon left the allowance of Pauline at 60,000 francs, although he had just increased that of her sister Élisa to 120,000. Moreover, he hastened the departure of Pauline and her husband for Rome, so that they might be well on their way before his return. Under date of the 14 November, he had it announced officially that the "Prince and Princesse Borghèse left night before last"; he himself did not leave Boulogne until the 17th.

CHAPTER TEN

JUNE 1802 — APRIL 1804

LUCIEN AND MME. JOUBERTHOU

Lucien Meets Mme. Jouberthou — Her Origin — Ruin of Her Husband — He Sails for Santo Domingo — Her Amorous Adventures — Her Appearance and Character — She Is Installed at Plessis — Fontanes's Letter to Élisa — Birth of Charles-Lucien — Secret Marriage of Lucien and Alexandrine — Death of the King of Etruria — Plans of Napoleon — Refusal of Lucien — He Is Made a Senator — Declines to Become Treasurer — His Civil Marriage — Napoleon's Displeasure — Lucien Leaves for Italy — Napoleon's Attitude — Lucien's Return — His Mother Leaves for Rome — Napoleon's Letter to the Pope

NAPOLEON had been deeply wounded by the manner in which his favorite sister had deceived him; but another marriage in the family, at almost the same moment, profoundly disturbed his political plans, destroyed for ever the harmony of the family, and had a decisive influence on the destiny of one of its members.[1]

In May or June 1802, Lucien had made a visit to his friend Laborde, at Méreville, and there he had met a young woman, with whom he fell desperately in love. Her maiden name was Alexandrine de Bleschamp, the daughter of a former *avocat* of the Parlement of Paris, who had later held the position of *entreposeur* (bonded warehouse-keeper) of tobacco, at Calais. Her mother was a Bouvet, of the illustrious naval family of that name. The Bleschamp family belonged to the middle classes, but, prior to the Revolution, had gained a fortune.

At the age of nineteen, the girl had married a certain M. Jouberthou, a native of Nantes, who was a broker at Paris, and who was considered quite wealthy. He owned a large house in Paris; also a country estate; and they lived in good style. They had two children: a boy, who died young, and a daughter, born in October 1799, who later made two princely marriages.

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[1] *Cf.* 2 Masson, 265–266.

Toward the end of the century, Jouberthou was unfortunate in his affairs, and in 1801 he sailed for Santo Domingo, to recoup his fortunes, leaving his wife and daughter, almost without resources, at Paris. Alexandrine, however, had no idea of seeking a refuge with her father, who then held a good post at Saint-Malo, as a commissary in the Navy. She seems to have had at this time several amorous adventures. She told Lucien, after she met him, that Napoleon himself had made her a proposition, which she declined; but this is very doubtful.

At the time she made the acquaintance of Lucien, in the early summer of 1802, Alexandrine was twenty-four years of age. She had very regular features, although the upper part of her face was somewhat large, and the lower part, too short and round. Her eyes were very large, and prominent (*à fleur de tête*). Her form was perfect: *"un port, une taille, un corps de déesse."* But, with all her physical beauty, the lady was lacking in attractiveness and charm — "rather an admirable model to paint than a mistress desirable to love." [2]

The courtship of Lucien was no longer than that of Don Juan: Alexandrine, "whispering, 'I will ne'er consent' — consented!" By the middle of the summer, the Marquise de Santa-Cruz, whom Lucien had brought with him from Spain, was displaced, and Mme. Jouberthou was installed at Plessis. This explains why Élisa had taken her departure. Under date of the 4 October, Fontanes, who still visited the house, wrote her a curious letter, in which he said, in part:

> You know already, my amiable and excellent friend, all that I can tell you, for a single glance is sufficient to penetrate the masks. The lady is beautiful, as coquettish as she is beautiful, as greedy as she is coquettish. This reign may be a long and costly one.
>
> All the symptoms of a lively passion may be discerned in the countenance and the conversation of the patron. He is discreet,

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[2] 2 Masson, 266.

mysterious; he thinks of his happiness, but it is not that to which the lady attaches importance; she desires publicity, splendor, and all the advantages which come from a properly-acknowledged connection. Her demeanor soon told us that it was she who was holding the court, and to whom we must pay it. This pride is very amusing.

In fact, the "patron" was more under the yoke than Fontanes imagined; for, Alexandrine was already enceinte, and Lucien had promised to marry her if she bore him a son. This man, so inflexible in his dealings with other men, and especially with his great brother, was an easy prey for any woman who took the pains to win him.

On his return to Paris for the winter, Lucien established Mme. Jouberthou in a house on the Place du Palais-du-Corps-Législatif (Palais-Bourbon), which he had connected by a subterranean passage with his own hôtel in the Rue Saint-Dominique, in order to continue their relations with as little publicity as possible. Here was born, on the 24 May 1803, a male child, who was declared the following day before the municipality of the Tenth Arrondissement under the names of Jules-Laurence-Lucien.[3]

The following day (25 May 1803), the child was baptized, and Lucien was married to Alexandrine, by a priest of the Catholic Church.[4] They both gave the promise to declare their marriage before the civil authorities as soon as they could do so without danger. Aside, however, from the *absolute political necessity,* alleged by Lucien, as a reason for not having a civil ceremony at that time, there was an even greater impediment: they had no proofs of the death of Jouberthou. Several months subsequent to this date, however, Lucien succeeded in securing a certificate that this inconvenient husband had passed away at Port-au-Prince, Santo Domingo, on the 15 June 1803; and a civil marriage was performed at Chamaut on the 26 October.

[3] This child was subsequently known as Charles; he married in 1822 his cousin Zénaïde, elder daughter of Joseph, by whom he had three sons and five daughters. The branch is now extinct. (See Biographical Notes.)

[4] The certificate is given in full in 2 Masson, 271.

Two days after Lucien's secret marriage with the Jouberthou woman, the King of Etruria died at Florence. He left a widow, Marie-Louise, the daughter of Charles the Fourth, of Spain, whom Lucien had known during his embassy to Madrid. She was an ugly little woman, almost a dwarf; lame and hunchbacked; and absolutely devoid of intelligence. Now, at this moment, when the war with England was about to be renewed, it was of importance to the politics of the First Consul that Tuscany, with its port of Leghorn, should be under his control. To take forcible possession of Etruria, a kingdom which he himself had founded, would embroil him with Spain, of whom he had need as an ally. In this dilemma, he thought of Lucien: his brother must marry the Queen of Etruria! From his point of view, this would be a double benefit: it would get Lucien out of France, and would make good use of his abilities in a new sphere. So long as she brought Lucien a crown, what difference did it make whether she were beautiful or not? For Napoleon, who was not marrying her, this detail was of slight importance.

Thinking that this offer would flatter the pride of his brother, and excite his ambition, Napoleon accordingly submitted the proposition to Lucien, without having the slightest suspicion that there was any legal impediment in the way. Lucien declined the invitation, which he pretended to consider as a good joke; but, at the same time, he conveyed the impression that his refusal was not final, and that ultimately he might yield.

That Napoleon did not take umbrage at Lucien's refusal, is shown by the fact that, in July, he designated his brother to lay out the limits of the senatorships in the territories newly annexed to France; and at the same time gave him the choice of the one he would like to represent. Lucien accordingly set out for the Banks of the Rhine, on the 10 July. He was not accompanied by Alexandrine, but he had a large suite, which included several art connoisseurs; for he proposed during his journey to complete his gallery by the acquisition of a number of Flemish paintings.

After traversing Belgium, and the cities along the Rhine, Lucien chose for his seat the city of Trèves, which possessed one of the finest châteaux in Germany. On his return, Napoleon offered him the position of treasurer of the Senate, at the same time that Joseph was named for that of chancellor. But both brothers refused these offices, the most important and the best-paid in the State, for the same reason: because they did not wish to compromise their *rights* to the Consular succession! The First Consul insisted; the brothers resisted; and there resulted an " extreme coldness." Joseph retired to Mortefontaine to sulk; while Lucien travelled back and forth between Paris, Plessis, and a country-place which he had taken in Normandie for a *voyage d'amoureux* with Alexandrine.

In his memoirs, Lucien endeavors to convey the idea that the final break with his brother was due to political, rather than to personal causes; but this was far from being the case. In September 1803, after refusing the position of treasurer, he took an active part in the clandestine marriage of Pauline, in order to show his independence, and to prepare the way for the announcement of his own marriage, which followed eight weeks later (26 October).

The civil marriage of Lucien, at Chamaut, was in flagrant violation of the Code, in three respects: (1) the banns had been published there, and not at Paris, the legal residence of the *senator;* (2) the consents of their parents had not been asked; nor (3) had they been consulted by a " respectful act," as provided in the law of 17 March 1803.

This ceremony was not only an act of marriage, it was also an act of legitimization: " The said spouses," the act reads, " have at this moment declared that they recognize as their legitimate son, Jules-Laurence-Lucien Bonaparte, born at Paris the 4 prairial an XI, inscribed under the date of the 5th of the same month in the registers of the état-civil of the Tenth Arrondissement." [5]

The above are the facts regarding the civil marriage of Lucien, and the account given in his memoirs is absolutely incorrect.[6] Equally apocryphal is the story which Lucien relates, on the authority of Murat, of the manner in which Napoleon received the news: *"Sachez que Lucien a épousé sa coquine,"* and so on. Murat was not in Paris at that time, and could not have been present at such a scene — if indeed it ever took place.[7]

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[5] Subsequently, this child was uniformly designated by the names of Charles-Lucien-Jules-Laurent.

[6] See 2 Masson, 278–279.

Contrary to the statements made by several writers, Napoleon did not at once bring pressure to bear upon Lucien to have him annul his marriage. He only forbade him to present his wife to the family, or to permit her to use his name. At first, Lucien agreed; but his stubborn nature soon asserted itself, and he not only allowed Alexandrine to use the name of Bonaparte, but he also persuaded his mother, Joseph, and Élisa, to receive her.[8]

Thereupon, matters became so unpleasant between him and Napoleon, that he found it advisable to withdraw, for a time at least, from France. Early in December, he set out with his wife for Italy, declaring, in a letter to Joseph, that he departed "with hatred in his heart."

Prior to his departure, by a formal act, dated the 28 November, Lucien assured to his wife an annual income of 50,000 francs, "payable from the day of his own decease to the day of the decease of the said lady"; and by another instrument, of the same date, he constituted for Alexandrine Jouberthou, daughter of his wife, a dot of 150,000 francs, payable at her marriage or her majority.

During his absence, which lasted three months, his mother warmly espoused the cause of Lucien, but failed to shake the resolution of the First Consul. Napoleon declared that his brother must forfeit his right of succession unless he consented to the dissolution of his marriage with Madame Jouberthou. "For," said he, "how can we pretend to assume rights over France; present for her respect, perhaps one day cause to reign there, the fruit of a union which a belated marriage alone had rendered legitimate." Again, he said: "It would seem as though

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[7] See 2 Masson, 281.

[8] Lucien's motto, which he always lived up to, was: "Every man of honor should be the sole regulator, the supreme pontiff, of the sanctuary of his private life."

Destiny blinded us, and wished, by our own errors, to render France to her former masters."

After visiting Rome, Naples, Florence, and Venice, Lucien returned to Paris in February 1804, three months before the declaration of the Empire. He then had a stormy interview with his brother, at which he again angrily refused to repudiate his wife; and Napoleon advised him to leave France, until such time as he might be in a different frame of mind. His mother once more intervened, but to no purpose; and she then announced her intention of retiring to Italy, as a protest against what she considered to be the unjust treatment of her favorite son.

Madame Bonaparte accordingly set out for Italy on the 13 March, and arrived in Rome on Easter eve, the 31st. Here she took up her residence with her brother, Cardinal Fesch, at the French Legation.[9]

At Rome, the mother of the First Consul was received with almost royal honors, which did not entirely please her son. In reply to a very effusive letter from the Pope, Napoleon wrote, under date of the 22 April 1804:

> I thank Your Holiness for the amiable things that you say to me in reference to the arrival of my mother in Rome. The climate of Paris is much too damp and cold for her. My first physician advised her to settle in a warm country, more resembling her native land. Whatever resolution she makes, I shall not cease to recommend her to Your Holiness.
>
> I am, with filial respect, Your Holiness's very devoted son
>
> BONAPARTE

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[9] Fesch was at that time minister to the Papal States.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

NOVEMBER 1800 — DECEMBER 1803

JEROME AND MISS PATTERSON

Jérôme's Early Life — He Enters the Navy — Joins the Santo Domingo Expedition — Promoted Ensign — Voyage to France — Leaves for Martinique — Made Lieutenant — Cruise in the Antilles — His Projects — Disregard of Orders — Leaves for the United States — Relations with Pichon — Visits Baltimore — Falls in Love with Betsy Patterson — Her Family — Her Portrait — Pichon's Warning — Jérôme Appears to Renounce Betsy — His Debts — The Marriage Contract and Ceremony — Ignorance of Napoleon — Orders Sent Jérôme — First News of the Marriage — Napoleon's Displeasure

JEROME, the youngest of the Bonaparte children, was born at Ajaccio in November 1784, soon after Napoleon entered the École Militaire at Paris. He accompanied the family when they left Corsica in 1793, and was subsequently placed in school at Paris. As we have already seen, he was present at the family reunion at Montebello in June 1797. After playing at soldier, on the staff of his big brother, he was sent back to Paris, and placed in school at Juilly. The college there, closed during the Revolution, had recently been reopened; and the fact that Muiron [1] had been educated there perhaps decided Napoleon to choose this school. Several of the Beauharnais had also been educated there, which may have been another reason; and the school had a reputation for severe discipline, which Jérôme badly needed. The boy was of an affectionate disposition, but impetuous and headstrong by nature, and hard to control. Napoleon called him a *petit polisson,* with much truth; but the little rascal paid scant attention to the frequent and sharp reproofs he received from his brother, who always had a soft place for him in his heart.

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[1] A favorite aide de camp of Napoleon, killed by his side at Arcole.

Napoleon assumed the guardianship of Jérôme, inscribing on the school register: "Communicate with General Bonaparte and his wife, Rue Chantereine, No. 6." Before his departure for Egypt, Napoleon carefully inspected the school, and brought away promises of good behavior from the boy. Jérôme kept his promises, and even gained a prize at Easter 1799; but, during the absence of Napoleon, he was much neglected: no member of the family went near him.

When Napoleon landed at Fréjus, in October 1799, Jérôme was still on his vacation; and he took advantage of the return of his brother not to go back to school. He amused Joséphine, who was very fond of children, and who spoiled them with her kindness. During Napoleon's absence at Marengo in 1800, Joseph wrote him: "You should give Jérôme an overseer during your absence, . . . for he takes advantage of your leniency not to leave Malmaison."

"This sojourn, in the salon of his sister-in-law," writes M. Masson, "spread over his whole life a perfume of elegance, and, so to speak, *une odeur de femme:* not only did he love the women, which is common, but he knew how to talk to them and to please them. He had with everybody, even with men, polite manners, which were not acquired; a greeting which left no one indifferent; a seduction which attracted even those who were fore-warned; and a prodigality which showed how well he had profited by the lessons of his instructress."[2]

On the 22 November 1800, Jérôme was sent to Brest, under the escort of Savary, one of Napoleon's aides de camp, to begin his career in the Navy. He made a voyage of eight months, during which the only event of note was the capture, on the 21 June 1801, of the *Swiftsure,* which had become separated from the squadron of Lord Keith.

Returning to Paris on the 7 September 1801, Jérôme was almost immediately ordered to Rochefort, to join the squadron of Admiral Latouche-Tréville, which was to take part in the expedition to Santo Domingo. On the 14 December, he sailed on the flagship, the *Foudroyant.* The squadron failed to connect with the fleet from Brest, and finally proceeded directly to Santo Domingo, where it joined Villaret the 29 January 1802.

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[2] 2 Masson, 56.

Jérôme, as well as Pauline, was therefore absent from Paris at the time of the marriage of Louis and Hortense. Of all his brothers and sisters, it was Pauline whom he loved the most, although he had the greatest respect and admiration for Napoleon. He always counted on the feebleness of his big brother, to pardon his escapades; and he never lacked a warm advocate in Joséphine, who was very fond of her *mauvais sujet.*

On the 5 February 1802, Jérôme was present with the fleet at the taking of Port-au-Prince, and for this valiant feat of arms was promoted to the rank of ensign. He then joined Leclerc and Pauline at Cap-Français; but he found the life there so monotonous that he obtained permission to return to France, as bearer of despatches from Leclerc to the First Consul. Sailing on the 4 March, on the *Cisalpin,* the swiftest vessel of the squadron, he landed at Brest thirty-seven days later. He arrived in Paris on the 14 April, and went to the home of his mother, Rue du Mont-Blanc.

He was immediately confirmed in his grade of ensign, provisionally conferred by Villaret, and gave so many dinners in honor of the event, that the First Consul ordered him to go to Nantes, to await there the fitting-out of the vessel on which he was to sail again for the Antilles. At Nantes, he led a very gay life, attending dinners, balls, and fêtes of every description; and it was the 18 September before he finally set sail.

The *Épervier,* with its staff made up of the friends and cronies of Jérôme, had more the air of a "pleasure yacht," than of a vessel of war. After a voyage of forty-two days, the ship anchored at Saint-Pierre, Martinique. Here, the captain, Halgan, was taken ill, and Admiral Villeneuve gave Jérôme the command of the ship, with the provisional rank of lieutenant (27 November). The admiral then ordered Jérôme to make a practice cruise among the Windward Islands. He sailed for Sainte-Lucie, where he suffered a slight sunstroke in visiting the crater of a volcano. At the end of two days, he returned to Martinique, where he led a very lively life, in the former home of Joséphine. He enjoyed his stay so much, that he had no desire to go to sea again; but the orders of the First Consul were formal, and on the 12 January 1803 he departed for Guadeloupe, where he passed ten days. He then returned to Saint-Pierre, where he laid up his vessel for some repairs which would require a month's time.

The allowance of 30,000 francs which the First Consul had made to Jérôme, even with his additional pay as a lieutenant, was not sufficient to meet the extravagant expenses of this boy of eighteen; so, during his last stay at Saint-Pierre, Jérôme drew several drafts, for 30,000 francs each, on the intendant of the First Consul, to the order of the treasurer-general of Martinique, from whom he borrowed freely.

Admiral Villeneuve, who found this *enfant gâté* a burden on his hands, now pressed Jérôme to return to France, as "he had fulfilled the object of his mission in visiting all and each one of our colonies upon the same route." But Jérôme had entirely different plans regarding his return, which he did not think it necessary to communicate to his chief. On the 15 April, he wrote Joseph: "In two weeks, I propose to depart for Santo Domingo; there, I count on remaining three days, before proceeding to New England. I shall ascend the Delaware, and anchor at Philadelphia; from there, I shall go by land to New York and Boston, whence I shall sail for France. My journey will be very long and tiresome, but very instructive for me."

This trip to the United States had not been authorized by the First Consul, who wished Jérôme to return directly to France, before the renewal of the war with England, which would render his voyage very perilous. His chief, Admiral Villaret, who had been trying for several weeks to get Jérôme started, now decided to give him a formal order to that effect.

After making one false start, and returning at the end of two days, Jérôme finally sailed for Guadeloupe, where he stopped two weeks. In spite of the wishes of his brother, the formal orders of his admiral, and the imminence of the renewal of hostilities, Jérôme still clung obstinately to his plan of making a journey through the States. On his own responsibility, he ordered the *Épervier* to sail for France, and the vessel was captured by the British cruisers; then, debarrassed of his ship, Jérôme himself sailed on an American pilot-boat, and landed at Portsmouth, Virginia. He was accompanied by a suite, composed of his lieutenant, Meyronnet, who had also deserted the *Épervier;* of young Reubell, son of the former Director; of Lecamus, with whom he had formed an intimacy at Martinique; of a physician, and several servants.

Embarking at Norfolk, on the 20 July, Jérôme arrived a week later at Washington. Here, he sent Lecamus, whom he had appointed his private secretary, to the French Legation, with orders for Pichon, the chargé d'affaires, to call upon him immediately at his hotel.

Pichon had had ten years' experience in the diplomatic service, of which time four years had been spent in the United States. Although somewhat surprised to receive such a summons from a personage of whose existence he was unaware, Pichon made haste to comply with the orders of Jérôme, and immediately installed the brother of the First Consul in a furnished house, where he would be more comfortable than at his hotel. This house was kept by a man named Barney, who had served several years in the French navy; and he at once assumed the rôle of " guide, philosopher, and friend," to Jérôme — much to the umbrage of Pichon.

As soon as he was established in Washington, Jérôme despatched Meyronnet to Philadelphia to charter a vessel; and his lieutenant secured the *Clothier,* at a cost of $10,000, for which amount Jérôme drew on Pichon.

This affair had taken only three days, and, on the fourth, Jérôme set out for Philadelphia, and from there went to Baltimore, the principal residence of Barney, who had promised to introduce him into society.

In the meantime, Pichon was " on pins and needles." He had no instructions regarding this *soi-disant* brother of the First Consul, who so freely called upon him for funds; and he disliked the intimacy between Jérôme and Barney, who did not bear a very good reputation. His respectful remonstrances, however, were so ill-received by Jérôme that there was nothing to do except to remain silent.

From early in August until the last week in October, Pichon received no direct news from Jérôme. Through the papers, he learned that Jérôme, at Baltimore, was leading a very gay life, and spending money freely. There were no signs of his departure.

At this moment, there anchored at Baltimore a French frigate, the *Poursuivante,* which had succeeded in eluding the British cruisers. This might furnish a medium for the return of Jérôme to France. The officers of the ship were to be presented to the President, and Pichon suggested that Jérôme should be presented at the same time. Jérôme accordingly came to Washington, and attended the reception at the White House, where he discussed politics with the President " like a man who had conducted them." But he absolutely refused to sail for France, because he " was about to be married."

During his visit to Baltimore, Jérôme had met a young girl of about his own age,[3] with whom he became desperately enamored. Her name was Elizabeth Patterson, but she was generally known as " Betsy." She was the daughter of William Patterson, a prominent merchant, who was also the president of the Bank of Baltimore. He came of a Scotch family, which had settled in the North of Ireland, and claimed to be descended from the Robert Paterson immortalized later by Sir Walter Scott in " Old Mortality." In 1766, at the age of fourteen, he emigrated to the United States, and engaged in business at Baltimore. During the War of Independence, by bold speculations in arms and munitions, he gained a fortune of one hundred thousand dollars, which he subsequently augmented by careful investments. By his marriage with a Miss Dorcas Spear, he had several children, among whom were a son, Robert, and Betsy, " the belle of Baltimore."

That Betsy Patterson was one of the most beautiful women of her time, no one can doubt who ever saw her portrait by

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[3] Jérôme was born on the 15 November 1784, and Betsy Patterson on the 6 February 1785.

Gilbert Stuart, or who ever talked with any of her contemporaries in Baltimore, where she lived to the good old age of ninety-four years. Her features were perfectly regular; her brown eyes, clear and sparkling; her hair, black; her neck and shoulders, marvellous; her form, her hands and feet, exquisitely modelled; in short, she was a regular " Irish beauty," with little of the Anglo-Saxon race in her appearance. In the painting by Stuart, it is impossible to find a fault, to note an imperfection: *" c'est la beauté! "* And it is not the beauty of a statue, but a beauty full of life, and spirits: brilliant, striking, laughing, alluring — a beauty which awakens desire, and demands homage.

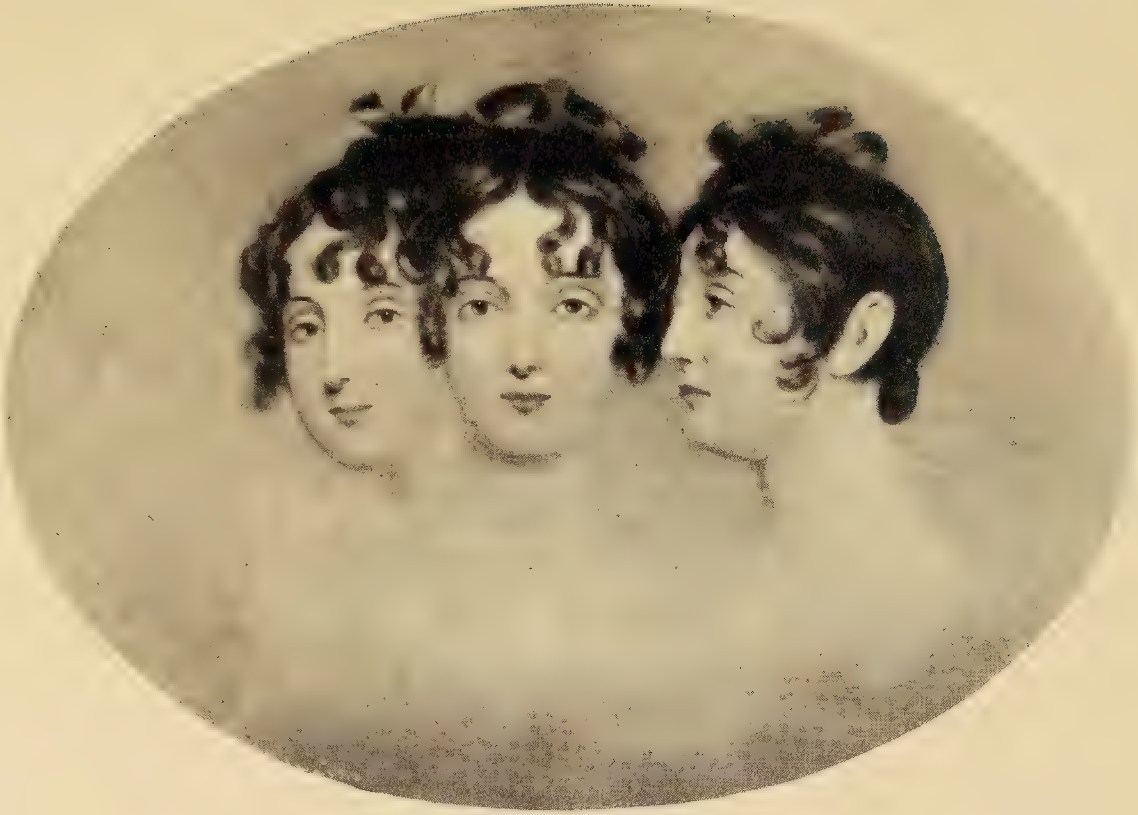
When Jérôme confided in Pichon, the engagement was already officially announced; the formal demand had been made by the Spanish Minister, and accepted with enthusiasm. The wedding was to take place on the 3 November, and the French chargé d'affaires was invited to be present.

Pichon did not dare to resist openly, and practically promised to be present at the ceremony. But, upon reflection, he realized what a responsibility he was assuming, and what a blunder he was on the point of making. He at once wrote Jérôme, and also Mr. Patterson, to point out that, under the Civil Code of France, any marriage contracted without the formal consent of Madame Bonaparte, his mother, would be null and void. To Mr. Patterson, he sent, at the same time, a certified copy of the Civil Code, covering the point in question.

In reply, Jérôme wrote Pichon to " mind his own business "; but, on the 14 November, he sent word by Lecamus that, " after mature reflection, he had broken off the marriage."

Apparently, Mr. Patterson had drawn back, on learning that Jérôme was not of age, as he had claimed; and, on being informed of the provisions of the French law, of which he was ignorant. He took Betsy with him, for a trip to Virginia, and Jérôme went to New York.

Jérôme took advantage of the joy of Pichon, over this good news, to ask for a new loan of $10,000. In three months, he had spent $16,000, without counting the draft of $10,000 for the *Clothier*, and he was heavily in debt. After a visit of two weeks



MISS PATTERSON

(by Stuart)

to New York, Jérôme returned on the first of December to Baltimore, where he made his presence known by a new demand for funds.

Pichon was happy over the thought that the marriage question was settled definitely, but he was soon to be awakened rudely. On Christmas day, he received a letter from Lecamus, announcing that the marriage had taken place the previous evening (the 24th); and demanding a remittance of $4000.

The marriage was finally decided by Betsy herself, who declared: " I would rather be the wife of Jérôme Bonaparte for one hour than the wife of any other man for my whole life." It is more doubtful, however, whether the young lady was actuated so much by love, as by the calculations of ambition.

No precautions were neglected by the Patterson family to render the marriage proof against attack. The contract was drawn up with great care, by Alexander J. Dallas, subsequently Secretary of the Treasury, and was witnessed by several official personages, including the mayor of Baltimore.

The ceremony was performed, according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, by the Right Reverend John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, who was a brother of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

To obtain his wife, Jérôme had hesitated at no engagements, and spared no promises: " he had given all that he had, and promised all that he had not." [4]

At this moment, Napoleon was entirely ignorant of the movements and projects of Jérôme. Owing to the interruption of communications by the war, he had only just learned that Jérôme had left Martinique. Meyronnet, who was the bearer of a letter from Jérôme, dated 6 August 1803, had not arrived in Paris until toward the end of November. He was not sent back until the last of January (1804), and then he was simply charged with orders from the First Consul and the Minister of the Marine for Jérôme to resume the service of his grade on any good French frigate available. Jérôme was also informed that, at the beginning of the year (September 1803), his allowance had been increased to 60,000 francs.

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[4] 2 Masson, 315.

The first news of the marriage was received at Paris through the English press. On the 18 February, the Paris *Débats* published the following article:

> We read in some English papers that Jérôme Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul, has married at Baltimore Miss Elizabeth Patterson, eldest daughter of Mr. William Patterson, a wealthy merchant of that city, and that the marriage was celebrated by the Bishop of . . .

Coming so soon after the clandestine marriages of Paulette and Lucien, this affair of his youngest brother profoundly wounded Napoleon.

CHAPTER TWELVE

MAY 1802 — MAY 1804

THE CONSULATE FOR LIFE

Napoleon's Gradual Rise to Power — Obstacles Overcome — He Is Elected Consul for Life — The Rôle of the Clan — Lucien's Services — Reasons for Napoleon's Opposition to the Heredity — Joséphine's Attitude — Confidence of His Brothers — Lucien's Advice to Joséphine — Napoleon's Final Decision — The Legion of Honor — Strong Opposition to the Project — The Grand Council — The Heredity Leads to a Monarchy — Napoleon's Denial That He Tried to Buy His Title from the Bourbons — Renewal of the War with England — The Royalist Plots — Zeal of Fouché — Moreau Implicated — Complicity of the British Government — Arrests of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges — Affair of the Duc d'Enghien — His Arrest, Trial and Execution — Napoleon Rewards His Officers — Statement in His Last Testament — Ignominious Failure of the Conspiracy

IN THE opinion of many writers, including such eminent authorities as Albert Vandal and Frédéric Masson, Napoleon's power in France, after Marengo (June 1800), was absolute. M. Vandal says: " Effectivement, la date de Marengo marque son avènement à la plaine puissance." And M. Masson writes: " Mais c'est seulement après Marengo qu'il est vraiement le chef de l'État; . . . que, devant son esprit, disparaissent et s'effacent toutes les entraves légales acceptées jusque-là." [1]

This view, however, is not entirely correct. It was not until the Consulate for Life was adopted, in July 1802, by the almost unanimous vote of the French people, that Napoleon's position was finally assured. He then became an arbitrary ruler; but his task had not been accomplished without considerable resistance.

In opposition to the tendency toward absolutism shown by the First Consul, there were arrayed three powerful elements:

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[1] 2 Vandal, 451; 1 Masson, 345.

First, the Liberal Constitutionalists, under the leadership of Benjamin Constant, the intimate friend of Madame de Staël.

Second, the implacable Jacobins and Terrorists, who took the same position; and who did not shrink even from the idea of assassinating Bonaparte.

Third, the devoted Royalists, who had remained constantly loyal to Louis the Eighteenth, and now hated Napoleon, because he had refused to play the rôle of General Monk.[2] Among them were men who did not hesitate at the most extreme measures, and they proceeded to carry into execution what had been only planned by the Jacobins. Their first attempt had been made on Christmas eve 1800; and this was now to be followed by the even more dangerous Cadoudal-Pichegru conspiracy, which will be described later.

Napoleon's first step toward absolute power was taken in January 1802, when, under the advice of Cambacérès, he purged the Tribunat and the Corps Législatif of the obnoxious element, consisting of such men as Benjamin Constant, Chénier, and Daunou.[3] Their places were filled by entirely docile persons who voted in favor of all the bills submitted, including the Concordat and the Légion d'honneur.

But Napoleon had even greater demands to make of the new Chambers. It did not accord with his vast designs that he should hold office for only ten years, and he took advantage of the popularity of the definite peace with England to demand the Consulate for Life.

The Senate, in recognition of the great services rendered to the State by the First Consul, had proposed to extend his term for another ten years. Napoleon was exasperated, and was on the point of declining the offer, when either Lucien or Cambacérès suggested another expedient: an appeal to the nation. He therefore replied to the Senate that he could not accept this offer without again consulting the people who had in former times clothed him with the supreme power. The question as put to the people differed widely, however, from the vote of the Senate, for it was formulated in these words: " Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be made Consul *for life,* and shall he be given the right to appoint his successor? "

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[2] In September 1800, Napoleon had finally and definitely replied to the overtures of the "Pretender." (See *Napoleon and Josephine,* 100.)

[3] See Fournier, 238–239.

The response of the nation was, three and a half millions of " ayes," against less than ten thousand " noes." The Senate immediately recognized the popular verdict; and by a decree, under date of the 4 August 1802, it considerably increased the powers of the First Consul. Except under the form of a hereditary power, the monarchy was now established in all but name.[4] When, two years later at Notre-Dame, Napoleon placed upon his head the Imperial crown, it was only the outward sign of the power already in his hands.

This brief political digression has been necessary, to understand the rôle of the clan in all these changes.

In the famous *Parallel,* which led to his dismissal from the Ministry, Lucien was the first to propose the heredity of the executive power in the Bonaparte family. During his embassy to Spain, he never lost sight of his project for the reëstablishment of the monarchy. With his friend Fontanes, he was among the first to favor an accord with the Papacy, for " if the cult is reëstablished, it will be a long step toward the end in view." All his acts give the lie to the republican pose which, in his memoirs, he has tried to assume in the eyes of posterity. He was the most ardent advocate of the Consulate for Life, because he counted on the heredity as an outcome; and, later, he was to exercise all his ingenuity in surrounding the Republic with monarchical institutions, in such a manner that inevitably the Republic would drift into a monarchy.

After his return from Spain, he said to the First Consul: " I desire no more functions, or missions; I wish to live at Paris, as a private citizen, unless you demand my concurrence in some useful way for the consolidation of your power."[5] Napoleon, therefore, had only to call, and Lucien was ready to come.

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[4] Early in the following year (1803), the government was designated as a " Republican Monarchy " by the *Journal de Paris,* the official paper.

[5] Cited 2 Masson, 97.

The exact date of their arriving at an understanding is unknown, but it was probably prior to the 4 January 1802, the date of the marriage of Louis, at which Lucien was present. The measures taken to suppress the opposition in the Tribunat and the Corps Législatif have generally been attributed to the suggestions of Cambacérès; but the means employed were so analogous to those proposed by Lucien, to eliminate the unfriendly element in the Councils, on the 19 Brumaire, that M. Masson is inclined to give Lucien the credit for the scheme.[6]

At the outset, Napoleon was not in favor of the project for the Consular succession, and he struck this provision out of the first draft for the new Constitution. The reasons for this attitude on his part were two-fold: first, the strong opposition to the plan on the part of Joséphine; and second, the trouble which he anticipated in satisfying the wishes of his brothers.

The reasons for Joséphine's antagonism to the project were partly personal and partly political. To her mind, the Consulate for Life carried with it the idea of the *heredity,* and the heredity meant *divorce.* By the marriage of Hortense to Louis, she had thought to stabalize her position; but Louis had practically abandoned his wife after the first month of their marriage, and she found in him an enemy, rather than an ally.[7]

Then, Joséphine, in all her sentiments, was a royalist: she had the most tender attachment to the name of the King, and to the Ancien Régime. She would have much preferred to see her husband play the rôle of General Monk, and bring back the old dynasty. In that case, Bonaparte would have at least the title of duke, the dignity of constable of France, a great position at Court, and her own future would be assured, with the spectre of divorce removed.

Since the rude shock which she had received on Napoleon's return from Egypt, Joséphine had been a model wife. She had given him the delightful experience of a well-ordered and luxurious household, a touch of domestic life, which he, who had never known a home, and whose life had been spent in an inn or a tent, thoroughly appreciated. Her time was all arranged so as not to interfere with his work; and when his task was finished, she was always ready, at any hour of day or night, to fall in with his plans. She had constantly on her lips the same smile, which always seemed natural, and never forced. Her loving submission to his every whim and caprice had won back much of Napoleon's former devotion, and he hated to do anything to displease her.

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[6] See 2 Masson, 101–102.

[7] *Cf.* 2 Masson, 120.

With regard to his brothers, in spite of his partiality to them, Napoleon really had no illusions. He realized their lack of prestige, of popularity, of ability to look after the interests of France. "It is not enough," he said, "to have the right to designate one's successor; the most difficult thing is to select him; and I do not know any one who has the necessary qualities, and whom the nation would desire." When he discussed the names with Talleyrand and the two Consuls, he did not even speak of Joseph; and, if he mentioned Lucien, it was only to set him aside, saying that he did not want him any more than he did Moreau.

When Joseph learned of Napoleon's attitude, he was much disappointed; but, in public, he showed no discontent, saying that he did not wish to be named, as he realized that he was not strong enough to meet the difficulties of the position, and stand comparison with Napoleon. He had good reason, however, for his *désinvolture,* for he felt sure that the question was only postponed; that, sooner or later, Napoleon would be forced to adopt the idea, as necessary to complete his authority. Therefore, he had only to wait: the heredity would come. Then, to prevent his own designation, only two things were possible: one, the unlikely event of Joséphine having children; the other, the possibility of Napoleon divorcing Joséphine, marrying a younger woman, and having children by her, which seemed to him equally improbable. As a matter of fact, the Bonapartes were all so convinced that Napoleon was incapable of having children that they no longer gave the matter any thought.

In the meantime, Napoleon had gone to Malmaison, where he lived very quietly, giving much thought to the alternative plans which called for his decision, and trying to make up his mind whether to favor the project of heredity, advocated by his brothers, or reject it, as desired by Joséphine. He had long conferences with Talleyrand, Rœderer, Regnault, Fontanes, Regnier, Lebrun, and Portalis. Lucien, also, was a frequent visitor, and Joséphine said to Napoleon: "How can you have confidence in Lucien? Have you not told me yourself that you saw a letter to your uncle [Fesch] in which he menaced your life?" "Mind your own business," replied Bonaparte.

Finding that she could do no more, on the 15 June Joséphine abandoned the struggle, and arranged to go to Plombières. Alluding to the reputation of these waters, Lucien teased his sister-in-law by saying: "You are going to the waters? You must make a baby there!"—"How can you give such advice to your brother's wife?"—"Yes, you must, because he cannot do it for you. If you cannot, or will not do it, Bonaparte must have one by another woman, and you must adopt it. It is for his interest, for yours, and for ours. The heredity must be assured." This is the story of Joséphine; but Lucien himself practically admits it.[8]

At what date Napoleon finally made his decision is unknown, but the question submitted for the ratification of the French people contained the second clause, giving him the right to designate his successor. He kept the secret so well from Joséphine that, on her return from Plombières, she still firmly believed that only a few insignificant changes in the constitution were meditated. Napoleon had reassured her by laughing when she asked at what date he intended to make her "Empress of the Gauls." Neverthless, after long and frequent consultations with the two Consuls, Lucien, Rœderer, Portalis, and Regnier, Napoleon had come to a decision at least as early as the 21 July, before the ballots were sent out.

Under the new Constitution of the Year Ten, the Tribunat was reduced to 50 members; the Corps Législatif and the Conseil d'État lost most of their powers; but the Senate was largely increased, and given new powers. In fact, the only two authorities left in France were Bonaparte and the Senate. To

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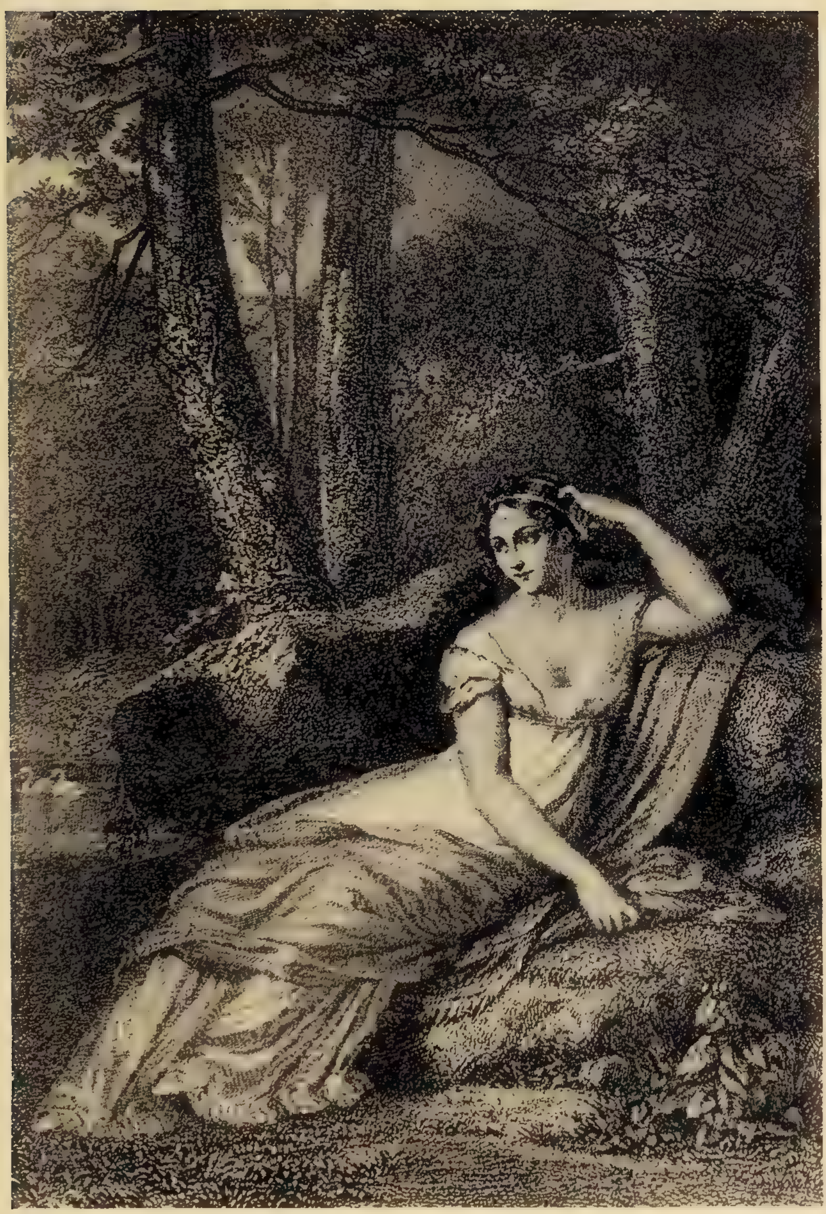
[8] Cited 2 Masson, 137–138.



JOSÉPHINE AT MALMAISON

complete the new quota of 120 members, the First Consul had the right to name 54 new senators, consequently to modify the majority in his own interest. Moreover, among many other new powers, he had the right to designate his successor, either during his lifetime, or by his testament.

Thus ended the great struggle for the heredity: Joséphine had lost; Lucien had won; and Napoleon had acquired a right which was to cause him infinite trouble in the future.

To complete his system, of which the Consulate for Life was the base, Napoleon did not await the ratification by the people. During the first days of May 1802, he sent to Rœderer a project for the founding of a Légion d'honneur, and on the 4th he presented it to the Council of State.

The idea was probably suggested to him by the Society of the Cincinnati, organized in May 1783 by the American and foreign officers in the Continental Army, of which La Fayette and other French officers were members. The membership was restricted to officers, and was to descend to their eldest male posterity. Although General Washington was the first president, and held the office until his death, the society was very unpopular in the United States, as it was generally regarded as the beginning of a hereditary aristocracy. In France, the plan was, at first, violently opposed, for the same reasons; but this was exactly one of the principal objects which Napoleon had in view. He stated that he wished to establish "a national recompense to award the warriors who had rendered striking services in fighting for the Republic"; but this was only a pretext; his real object was to constitute a hierarchy, at once military and civil, having the First Consul as chief, and of which all the members should be bound to him by a solemn oath, by an annual stipend, and by a series of special obligations.

His plan, in two respects, was more democratic than the American model, for (1) the membership in the order was not limited to officers, and (2) it was to be only personal, and not hereditary. But, on the other hand, it contemplated the creation of a new nobility, which the American society did not.

The project met with such strong opposition that it only passed the Conseil d'État by a majority of four votes (14 against 10); the Tribunat, by 56 to 38; and the Corps Législatif, by 166 to 110. This was the last great battle which the Republicans were to wage.

As originally organized, in May 1802, the Légion comprised 15 cohorts, each composed of 7 grand-officers, 20 commandants, 30 officers, and 350 légionnaires. The grade of grand eagle (now grand cross) was added in 1805. The order was to be governed by the Grand Council, composed of seven members: the three Consuls (Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun), and the delegates of the Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Council of State.

When the time came for the election of the Grand Council, Napoleon opposed the choice of his brothers. "If you are elected, you must decline," he said to Lucien. "Do your best to prevent my election," replied Lucien; "if I am chosen, I shall accept." On the 7 July, he was elected to represent the Tribunate by a vote of 53 out of 69; and on the 13th Joseph was chosen by the Council of State, by 28 out of 32 voting. These elections could only be considered as a mark of deference to the *Princes of the Blood.*

An article in the new Constitution read: "The members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honor are senators by right no matter what their age." This could apply only to Joseph and Lucien, who were below the age required by the Constitution.

After refusing, in May, to accept the right of naming his successor, why did Napoleon demand it two months later? In a word, the answer is, that in July he knew positively that Hortense was soon to become a mother: he saw a way out of his dilemma which he was sure would delight his wife, and which he hoped would satisfy his brothers. This was, to name the son of Louis as his heir. But, while the designation of a child would be natural and normal under a Monarchy, it was impossible under a Republic; therefore, the Empire must be founded!

"It was to the man of genius, to him alone, to the hero, that France had offered and given herself."[9] He had, indeed, the right to name his successor; but, under the Republic, that person must be worthy of the choice, and ready to accept it. He must be a man prominent in the State, a man whose career was made — one who, if not the equal of the First Consul, was at least worthy of succeeding him. In choosing his successor, it would also be necessary to give him a title, and a place of dignity in the State. But, after overcoming all opposition, and rising step by step to the supreme power, Napoleon had no idea of creating a rival who would embarrass him at every turn. Therefore, he would choose a child; and that child should be his nephew — the grandson of Joséphine. The Consular Constitution, already changed four times since the 18 Brumaire, would receive a supreme modification which would finally transform the government into a hereditary autocracy.

Without having penetrated his secret thoughts, every one, in France and in Europe, had a confused idea that he was about to take this last step. But, in this connection, it may be stated most positively that Napoleon never, as a preliminary move, offered a pecuniary indemnity to the Bourbons if they would abandon their rights to the throne of France.[10] The attempt to buy off the "Pretender," with the offer of a pension of two million francs a year, may have been made, through an agent of the Prussian Government; but it was done without Napoleon's knowledge or consent. "Directement ni indirectement, de près ni de loin," he says, "je n'ai rien fait qui pût se rapporter à cela." His power was based on the foundation of the will of the sovereign people: to attempt to purchase a title from the proscribed royal family, in the words of Napoleon himself, would be "to proscribe himself — to alienate for ever public opinion." Even if we did not have Napoleon's own denial of the story, it is too absurd to be worthy of belief. Yet, Professor J. Holland Rose affects to place confidence in this flimsy tale.[11]

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[9] 2 Masson, 230.

[10] See Napoleon's own statement, quoted 2 Masson, 323.

[11] See 1 Rose, 412.

The celebrated scene between Napoleon and the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at the Tuileries, on the 13 March 1803, presaged the renewal of the war; a few weeks later, Whitworth demanded his passports; and the middle of May hostilities began.

Even before the close of 1802, however, a small band of French émigrés in London had begun to discuss plans for the "removal" of Bonaparte, and the renewal of the war raised the hopes of the royalist exiles. The "Pretender," in the "chilly solitudes of Warsaw," did not share these illusions; and his refusal to take part in the royalist plots led his brother, the Comte d'Artois, then at Edinburgh, to contemn his *feebleness* as unworthy of any future confidences.[12]

The man of action upon whom the Bourbon princes chiefly relied was the former Chouan leader, Georges Cadoudal. Pichegru was also living in London, but he saw little of the émigrés; while Dumouriez was too greatly scorned in France for his treachery in 1793 to warrant his being considered.

Through the zeal of Fouché, Napoleon from the start was kept well informed regarding these plots. The famous Minister of Police had recently been dismissed by the First Consul, and his duties divided between Regnier, the Grand Judge and Minister of Justice, and Réal, a Councillor of State, but neither of these men had the *flair* of Fouché. The ex-Minister, who was anxious to discredit his successors, and return to power, employed a former Jacobin spy, by the name of Méhée de la Touche, to worm himself into the secrets of the plotting royalists, English officials, and French generals.[13]

Among this latter group of mal-contents were Moreau, Bernadotte, Augereau, and Macdonald, but Napoleon feared only the hostility of the first. Moreau had taken an active part in the coup d'état of the 18 Brumaire, and his relations with Napoleon would probably have continued friendly if it had not been for his wife. In November 1800, he married a Mlle. Hulot, who had been a companion of Hortense in the school of

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[12] 1 Pasquier, 167.

[13] Madelin (1 *Fouché,* 368) is inclined to minimize Fouché's rôle at this time.

Madame Campan. She was a Creole, and Joséphine had contributed much to bring about the match, which she thought would draw Moreau and the First Consul closer together. But, after the victory of Hohenlinden, the pride of Madame Moreau knew no bounds. She thought that she and her husband were not treated with sufficient consideration by the First Consul and his wife; and spurred on by her mother, a very vindictive woman, who was jealous of Joséphine, she influenced her husband to refuse an invitation to dinner at the Tuileries; also, to accompany the First Consul to a review. This coldness soon degenerated into declared enmity, and the great general shortly became the centre of the opposition to the Consular government. He openly mocked at the Concordat; and when the Légion d'honneur was instituted, he decorated his dog with a collar of honor.

Proceeding first to Guernsey, Méhée gained the confidence of the governor, General Doyle, who gave him letters to the leading émigrés in London, and also to several members of the English Cabinet. Méhée has left a highly spiced account [14] of his intrigues; but it must of course be received with distrust. His narrative contains few details and dates, but Professor Rose has examined all the papers in the English archives, and has found proofs of the complicity of the Government. For example, a " most secret " Admiralty letter, of the 9 January 1804, orders a frigate or a large sloop to be got ready to convey secretly " an officer of rank and consideration " (probably Pichegru) to the French coast. " In the face of this damning evidence," says Mr. Rose, " the ministerial denials of complicity must be swept aside "; and he sums up his conclusions with the words: " But when all is said, *the British Government must stand accused of one of the most heinous of crimes.*" [15]

Having established the responsibility of the British Government in this, " the most famous plot of the century," we shall proceed to describe the progress of the conspiracy.

Georges Cadoudal left London, and landed in France on the night of the 22 August 1803. Not far from Dieppe there is a cliff two hundred and fifty feet high, a place well known to smugglers, who were accustomed to climb the rock by a ship cable hung from the top. This place, known as Béville (or Biville), was the point chosen for entering France. By the same route, Pichegru and several other conspirators arrived a few weeks later. Hiding by day, and walking by night, they all eventually arrived at Paris, where under different disguises they for many months eluded the vigilance of the police.

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[14] *Alliance des Jacobins de France avec le Ministère Anglais.*

[15] See 1 Rose, 416–418. The italics are ours.

On a dark night in January, Pichegru had an interview with Moreau on the Boulevard de la Madeleine, and they had two or three other meetings, at which they cleared up some of the misunderstandings of the past. But the Comte d'Artois was deceived by false reports when he exclaimed with joy: " Now that our two generals are in accord I shall soon be back in France! " Moreau would have nothing to do with Georges, and when Pichegru proposed the restoration of the Bourbons, after the " removal " of Bonaparte, he replied firmly: " Do with Bonaparte what you will, but do not ask me to put a Bourbon in his place."

It has been claimed that the plot never aimed at assassination: the conspirators proposed only to seize the person of the First Consul, during one of his trips to Malmaison; transfer him to the coast by relays of horses, and hurry him over to England. " But, though the plotters threw the veil of decency over their enterprise by calling it kidnapping," says Mr. Rose, " they undoubtedly meant murder." [16]

Napoleon was kept fully informed of the progress of the conspiracy, and was only waiting for the propitious moment " to hoist the engineers with their own petards." [17]

He did not want to make any moves until Moreau was implicated. Finally, at a special meeting of the Council, on the night of the 14 February, where the only subject discussed was the conspiracy, orders were issued for the arrest of Moreau, and he was taken into custody the following day. At his trial, the evidence was not conclusive, and he was condemned to two years in prison. Napoleon insisted on commuting this penalty to banishment from France; and, in order to furnish Moreau with funds for his exile, the First Consul purchased for 800,000 francs the handsome hôtel of Moreau in the Rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honoré, and gave it to Bernadotte; also his fine estate of Grosbois, which he presented to Berthier.

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[16] 1 Rose, 419–420.

[17] See his letter of 24 January to Réal.

Pichegru was finally betrayed by a former companion-in-arms, and was arrested the last of February. Six weeks later, he was found strangled in prison. His death has often been charged to Napoleon, but without the slightest evidence.[18]

On the 9 March, Cadoudal was taken at seven o'clock in the evening in the Place de l'Odéon, and was executed the last week in June.

We come now to the "judicial murder" of the young Duc d'Enghien, the last scion of the great House of Condé. As a youth of twenty he had served twelve years before in the Army of the Émigrés, organized by his grandfather, the Prince de Condé, for the invasion of France. After the peace of Lunéville (1801), he had taken up his residence in the former château of the Cardinal de Rohan on the right bank of the Rhine ten miles from Strasbourg. Here he lived the life of a private citizen, in the company of a young and charming woman, the Princess de Rohan.[19]

The evidence against the duc, which was certainly strong, although not conclusive, may be summarized briefly as follows: The police reports showed that the conspirators had expected the early arrival in France of a prince of the Royal House. A servant of Cadoudal had deposed that a young man, who was treated with the utmost respect, on several occasions had been in conference with the conspirators in Paris. Other reports, from the residence of the duc, showed that he was often absent for several days at a time. He had staying with him at Ettenheim an émigré by the name of Thumery, which the German servants pronounced Thoumeriez, and this was supposed to be the French traitor, Dumouriez. On the strength of all this information the French authorities were convinced that the young Bourbon prince was deeply implicated in the conspiracy against the life of the First Consul.

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[18] *Cf.* 1 Rose, 428.

[19] By several writers, it is stated that he was secretly married to her. (See 1 Rose, 422.)

A special meeting of the Council was held at the Tuileries at ten o'clock on the evening of the 10 March, at which were present the three Consuls, and all the ministers. It was decided to issue immediate orders for the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien and the supposed General Dumouriez. Caulaincourt was sent with a letter to the Margrave of Baden, explaining this violation of German territory.

Five days later a detachment of about fifty dragoons and gendarmes under the command of Colonel Ordener crossed the river at Rheinau, opposite Ettenheim, and surrounded the château just as the day was beginning to break. The prince was taken without any resistance and was conducted to Strasbourg, where he was interned in the citadel. At the end of three days he was transferred to the château of Vincennes at Paris, where he arrived late on the afternoon of the 20 March.

During these last days, Napoleon was far more nervous and uneasy than on the field of battle, where he always displayed the greatest calm. When he heard that Dumouriez was with the young prince, his rage knew no bounds. "Am I a dog to be beaten to death in the street!" he exclaimed. "Are my murderers sacred beings? They attack my very person. I will give them war for war." Talleyrand, Réal, and Fouché advised the strongest measures.[20]

The Senate had just suspended trial by jury in the case of attempts against the life of the First Consul, and the prince was to be tried by a court-martial of officers. No proof was found in his papers which could implicate him in the Cadoudal plot, but evidence was discovered that he had offered his services to the British Government for the present war, which, under a law passed during the Revolution, was high-treason, and punishable by death.

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[20] At a later date, Talleyrand endeavored to disclaim any responsibility for the Enghien affair; but in a note to the First Consul, under date of 8 March 1804, he advised Bonaparte to bring about the death of the prince in order to show that he was not playing the rôle of General Monk. This paper disappeared from the French archives in 1822. (See Welschinger, *Le duc d'Enghien,* chapter XXI.)

The court was composed of the seven senior officers of the garrison of Paris, under the presidency of General Hulin, who had first distinguished himself in the assault on the Bastille. The examination of the prisoner was very brief. After giving his name, date and place of his birth, he testified that he had borne arms against France, and that he wished to take part in the new war. When Hulin warned him of the danger of his position, he resolutely refused to withdraw his incriminating evidence.

The court then sentenced him to death; he was forthwith led out into the moat of the castle, where a few torches shed their light on the final scene of this sombre tragedy, and fell, shot through the heart. His body was thrown into the grave, already prepared, where it remained until twelve years later the bones were disinterred by loving hands and placed in the chapel of the castle.

The execution of the Duc d'Enghien is generally regarded as the greatest blot on the fame of Napoleon. Talleyrand summed up the callous public opinion of the day in a celebrated *mot:* "It is worse than a crime; it is a blunder." But, from that day, the conspiracies ceased; there were no more assassins, recruited and despatched by the Comte d'Artois, paid and subsidized by Great Britian. One example was enough: "C'est peut-être un crime," writes M. Masson, "ce n'est pas une faute."[21]

Napoleon always took upon his own shoulders the entire responsibility for this tragedy. In his opinion, those who had arrested, judged, and executed the Duc d'Enghien had only loyally performed their public duty. They were rewarded, each and every one, with magnificent donations. Réal and Murat each received 100,000 francs; his aide de camp Savary, 12,000; and six officers, from 5000 to 10,000 apiece.[22]

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[21] 2 Masson, 332.

[22] 2 Masson, 331.

At Saint Helena, in the face of death, almost at his last hour, Napoleon added with his own hand to his testament:

"I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and judged, because it was necessary for the safety, the interest, and the honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois, by his own confession, was supporting sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way again." [23]

Never did conspirators fail more ignominiously, and play more completely into the hands of their adversary. The result of their efforts is summed up in a witty *mot* of the Boulevardiers: "They came to give France a king, and they gave her an Emperor."

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[23] For a typical English view of this matter, see 1 Rose, 427, note. A very interesting inside story of the affair is given by Mme. de Rémusat (1 *Mémoires*, 309–340).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MARCH — MAY 1804

THE EVE OF THE EMPIRE

Movement in Favor of a Monarchy — Action of the Senate — Napoleon's Views — His Dilemma — His Efforts to Placate Joseph — Their Failure — Napoleon's Kindness to His Mother — Lucien's Approval of Jérôme's Marriage — His Final Break with Napoleon — Napoleon's Error in Alienating His Brother — Louis and Hortense — Napoleon Reveals His Plans to Joseph — Joseph's Rage — He Incites Louis to Oppose Napoleon's Plans — Joseph Made a Colonel, and Sent to Boulogne — The Empire Established by an Almost Unanimous Vote of the People — Joseph and Louis Made Princes and Grand Dignitaries — Napoleon Given the Right of Adoption — His Revenge on His Brothers

THE Cadoudal-Pichegru conspiracy had a *dénouement* which the Royalists little expected: it hastened the foundation of the Empire. "I remember having heard Bonaparte say, during the summer of this year 1804," writes Madame de Rémusat, "that this time events had hastened him; and that his plan was not to found the royalty until two years later."[1]

From all the regiments, from all the departments, addresses and deputations began to pour in, imploring Bonaparte to take this step. "Of these addresses, printed in the *Moniteur*," says M. Masson, "undoubtedly many seem official, appear inspired; but, on the whole, they are strikingly sincere."[2]

This current of public opinion was no doubt, in part, the result of the campaign of the three preceding years in favor of the heredity; and it was strengthened by the assent of the First Consul, by the ambition of his brothers, and by the concurrence of many prominent men who were sincerely in favor of a return to the monarchy.

On the 28 March, the movement came to a head. The Senate, in a body, called on Napoleon, to suggest the institution of some form of a tribunal to deal with cases of high-treason. The vice-president, in the course of his address, said: " We have need of institutions which will assure to our children the happiness which we at present enjoy; which will consolidate your work and render it as immortal as your glory."

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[1] 1 Rémusat, 293.

[2] 2 Masson, 333.

This, in effect, was an offer of the hereditary monarchy. But Napoleon was not willing to receive from the Senate such an augmentation of his power. " I must do nothing, accept nothing," he said, " without the desire of the people, expressed as solemnly as it has been in the case of my Consulate for Life."

In proposing the reëstablishment of the hereditary monarchy, the Senate had in mind a form of royalty similar to that of the Ancien Régime, and of the other European monarchies. But this was not the idea of Napoleon: he wanted to found a State similar to the old Roman Empire, in which the heredity should be in the Bonaparte family, but subject to his nomination, and not as an absolute right. He wished still to preserve the Republic, in name, but to graft upon it the new constitution of the Empire. His idea is expressed in the French coins, which for a number of years bore the somewhat anomalous inscription: " République française, Napoléon empereur."

In fact, Napoleon was confronted by a situation without precedent in history, and he had a difficult problem to solve. According to the custom in force in Europe, he should have been surrounded by a sovereign family, of a common origin, of the same flesh and blood. But he, in default of direct heirs, would be obliged to confer his rights upon his brothers, only because they were his brothers, without their having done anything to justify such an elevation. It was necessary to find some way of harmonizing the old régime with the new. For example, if Napoleon wished to designate as his successor his nephew, the son of Louis and Hortense, in order to follow the usual rules in monarchies he must first obtain the renunciation of the boy's father, and of all who were prior to him in the natural line of succession. To add to Napoleon's embarrassment, there was the further fact that Joseph was the elder brother, and therefore, according to all laws of primogeniture, the head of the family.

"Everything is singular and strange; all is illogical and illegal; everything, in this constitution of heredity, will be contrary to monarchical laws, and, even more so, to the laws of common sense."[3] And this *impasse* was all due to Napoleon's own fault: because he was not willing to free himself from the bonds of the clan!

From the beginning of the year 1803, Napoleon had begun to prepare the way for the renunciation of Joseph, by offering him the position of colonel-general of the Swiss in the French service. But Joseph declined the honor, and suggested Lannes, who was appointed.

Then, after giving Joseph the place of senator from Brussels, with a revenue of 25,000 francs, and the use of the palace, Napoleon offered him the position of chancellor of the Senate (September 1803), which he also refused. This was a highly-paid sinecure, with a residence in the Petit-Luxembourg; but Joseph was not to be tempted by any proposition which would contemplate his giving up his *rights* to the heredity. From Beauvais, where he was presiding over a meeting of the electoral college of the Oise, he wrote (12 September) a very affectionate brotherly letter, in which he stated that the duties of the position were "not in accord with his character."

On his return to Paris, Napoleon sent Talleyrand to see him, and endeavor to change his decision. In a final letter to the First Consul (18 September), Joseph clearly shows his hand. "If the evil fortune of France necessitates your leaving the Continent,"[4] he writes, "I here assume the engagement to occupy the most perilous posts that it may please you to confide to me. I will be whatever you wish: *member of the Government, designated successor. . . .*"

Notwithstanding his pretense of brotherly submission, Joseph was secretly enraged. To one of his confidants, he said: "He will no longer deceive me; I am tired of his tyranny, and his vain promises. I wish all or nothing. Let him leave me as a private citizen, or offer me a post which assures me the power after him! . . . If he refuses to do this, let him expect nothing from me. . . . What has he done for us up to the present moment? . . . I will rally to Sieyès — even to Moreau if necessary; to all that remains in France of patriots and friends of liberty, to escape so much tyranny!"[5]

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[3] 2 Masson, 340.

[4] He refers to the proposed invasion of England.

Napoleon, who was ignorant of his brother's state of mind, invited him and Lucien to déjeuner with him at Saint-Cloud, to try and smooth out their differences; but they parted in very bad humor. Joseph's feelings, however, did not prevent him from accepting of his brother (2 November 1803) a donation of 200,000 francs, in addition to his annual allowance of 120,000!

The Royalist conspiracy, with the imminent danger, not only to the life of the First Consul, but also to the future of the family, brought about, in January 1804, a certain *rapprochement* on the part of Joseph. As a mark of his appreciation, on the 3 March Napoleon made Joseph another gift, of 300,000 francs. Joseph, however, was not appeased: he gave Napoleon clearly to understand that he regarded himself as the *necessary successor,* and that he would take no other place.

With respect to Lucien, the situation was much simpler, as he was a younger brother, and, unlike Joseph, could make no claims to be designated on the ground that he was the head of the family. Besides, his marriage had cancelled all his rights to the succession, unless he consented to repudiate Mme. Jourberthou.

After spending three months in travelling throughout Italy, Lucien had returned to Paris the last of February 1804. During his absence, his mother had taken his part, as usual. This, however, did not prevent Napoleon from treating her with his usual generosity. Notwithstanding her liberal allowance of 120,000 francs a year, he paid for all the improvements that she had ordered in her hôtel, Rue du Mont-Blanc; and, as a special mark of deference, he commissioned Gérard, at a fee of 8000 francs, to paint her full-length portrait, to ornament the salon at Saint-Cloud. But all this did not content the proud old dame, who was jealous over the precedence given to Joséphine, and angry over the treatment of Lucien. She accordingly announced her departure for Italy, "to recover her health," and set out on the 13 March, as already stated.

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[5] Cited 2 Masson, 344.

The following day, Lucien received a visit from Robert Patterson, of Baltimore, who had been sent to Paris by his father to ascertain the sentiments of the First Consul, and his family, regarding the marriage of Betsy and Jérôme. As might be expected, he secured at once the support of Lucien. "Tell Mr. Patterson," he said, "that our mother, myself, and all the family, with a single voice and from the bottom of our hearts, we all highly approve of the marriage. It is true that the First Consul is not in accord with us for the moment, but he must be considered as isolated from the family. . . . All of his actions and his ideas are directed by a policy with which we have nothing to do. . . . I, myself, by my recent marriage, have incurred his displeasure."

Thus, not content with his own rebellion, Lucien encourages his younger brother to defy the wishes of the First Consul, as he had previously supported Paulette in her disregard of Napoleon's decrees.

Although his mother had already departed, and there was no further reason for his remaining in Paris, Lucien could not make up his mind to start. He was in the city at the time of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien (22 March), and at the date of the address of the Senate (28 March). On the 10 April,[6] he had, at Saint-Cloud, a final interview with Napoleon, at which he announced his ultimatum: *"My wife, my son, my daughters, and myself, we are but one!"*

Toward midnight, Napoleon entered the salon, where Joséphine was anxiously waiting; he seemed entirely worn out. Dropping into a chair, he cried: "That matter is finished! I have broken with Lucien, and driven him from my presence." In reply to some observations from Joséphine, he said: "You are a good woman to plead for him." Then, rising, he took her in his arms, placed her head gently on his shoulder, and told her how Lucien had resisted all his overtures. "It is hard, nevertheless," he added, "to encounter such a resistance to so great interests. It is necessary then for me to isolate myself from everybody, to count only on myself. Well! I will be sufficient unto myself, and you, Joséphine, you will console me for all!"[7]

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[6] This date can be definitely fixed by the fact that Napoleon did not take up his residence at Saint-Cloud until that day. Furthermore, the journals announced the passage of Lucien through Lyon on the 14 April. (See Schuermans, 154; 2 Masson, 374–375, and note.)

Two days later, Lucien was on his way to Italy, with his four *berlines,* and his princely train: wife, son, daughters, governesses, painters, and men of affairs.

In his memoirs, Lucien has left us a most pathetic account of his "last night in Paris." He and his wife, his mother and Joseph, are assembled in the picture gallery of his hôtel in the Rue Saint-Dominique. The travelling-carriages, laden with the luggage, stand in the courtyard below. It is Easter eve, the last day in March, and the exiles are to leave for Rome at daybreak.

Joseph proposes to go to the Tuileries, to make a last appeal to Napoleon, but his mother tells him that it will be useless. Midnight strikes, and all hope that his brother may relent is at an end. Lucien takes his wife by the hand, and they kneel before his mother to receive her blessing. *"Au revoir, au revoir; à bientôt à Rome!"* says Madame Bonaparte; and she leaves the room to conceal her emotions.

It is really a pity to spoil so moving a scene, but, as a matter of fact, Lucien's mother was then in Rome, and he himself did not set out until two weeks later than the date given. This is only one more illustration of how little confidence we can place in many memoirs which purport to be authentic.

Napoleon's break with Lucien was one of the greatest mistakes of his career. He always displayed a certain jealousy of his brilliant but erratic brother, who was the only person who ever antagonized his plans. No one ever needed opposition more then Napoleon, and with Lucien by his side, he might possibly have avoided some of his greatest errors. "If," says M. Thiers, "Napoleon had chosen one of the civil careers, where one can succeed only by persuading others, in winning them to your point of view, perhaps he would have learned to moderate, to control his passionate disposition; but, thrown into the career of arms, . . . he reached with one bound the domination of Italy; with a second, the government of France; with a third, the supremacy of Europe, — what marvel then that this nature which God had made so quick, which victory had made even quicker, should be brusque, impetuous, domineering, absolute in its will! Everything had coöperated, nature and events, to make of this mortal the most absolute, the most impetuous of men."[8]

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[7] See 1 Rémusat, 351.

Lucien arrived in Rome on the 6 May. He brought a very brief letter of recommendation to the Pope, which Madame Bonaparte had persuaded Napoleon to write before she left Paris: "My brother, Senator Lucien, desires to reside at Rome, in order to devote himself to the study of antiquities and history."

Lucien had no idea that his stay at Rome would be prolonged. He had opposed the wishes of his brother so frequently, only to be forgiven and restored to favor, that he could not imagine that his disgrace would be more than temporary. But, this time, Napoleon was unrelenting: Lucien had transgressed, not only against himself, but also against the dynasty which he was about to establish. All of Madame's efforts on his behalf were to prove unavailing, and Lucien was not to set foot again in France until after the fall of Napoleon.

In the case of Louis, Napoleon found the obstacles to overcome far more difficult than he had anticipated, and in the end he was forced to modify his plans entirely.

After the birth of their son, in October 1802, there was a brief reconciliation between Louis and Hortense; but he soon took up his quarters on another floor of the house, and avoided

[8] Thiers, *Le Consulat et l'Empire.*

his wife as much as possible. He paid absolutely no attention to his military duties, and did not visit his regiment, quartered at Joigny, a single time during the last three months of the year. The end of January 1803, he took a treatment for his rheumatism, of the most remarkable nature, but found no relief. In March, he went to Montpellier, where he remained six months, occupied in trying various strange remedies for his malady. At this time, he arranged for the transfer of his father's remains to Paris, and they were ultimately placed in a tomb at Saint-Leu.

At the outbreak of the war, in May, he was given the command of a brigade; and, after his return in September, he joined his troops at Compiègne. Hortense accepted his invitation to go there, to do the honors of his mansion, and they once more resumed their life in common. As a result of their being thus thrown together, Hortense became enceinte for the second time.

A few days after the address of the Senate, on the 2 April Napoleon summoned Joseph to the Tuileries, and revealed his plans for the first time. "I have always had the intention," he began, "to finish the Revolution by the establishment of the heredity." He then went on to say that he had not thought this would be possible under five or six years; but he was now convinced that the time was ripe. He next touched upon the delicate point of the heredity, and stated that he did not intend to recognize in his family any rights other than those which he saw fit to accord them.

Two days later (4 April), they had another conference, at which Napoleon explained his project more clearly, and gave Joseph to understand that it was his intention "to have himself declared Emperor, and at the same time to adopt as his successor Napoleon-Charles, naming Joseph as guardian of the child, in case of a minority, also as regent in conjunction with the two other Consuls."

Joseph replied that "he had not deserved being dispossessed of the rights to the crown, which he was going to acquire as the elder brother." Napoleon became irritated, and appeared "even more decided to carry out his plan."

Returning home, Joseph had a conference with his friends, and Rœderer took charge of drawing up a paper demonstrating that Joseph was *of right* the successor of the First Consul, and that Napoleon had no authority of adoption. As M. Masson remarks, it would be difficult to imagine, under what monarchical code, by what kind of sophistry, Rœderer proposed to establish this right of a *remounting collateral heredity*.[9]

In the discussions of the Council of State, on the 5 April and the days following, there was general agreement that Napoleon should be given the power to name his successor.

On the 7 April, Napoleon, accompanied by Joséphine, went in great state, with a military escort, to call on Louis. It so happened that Louis was out, and did not return until the moment that his brother was on the point of leaving. Then Joséphine took him to one side, and in a few words gave him an outline of Napoleon's plan; adding that such a fine perspective for his son ought to console the father for not being called to the heredity.

At the moment, Louis seemed to be pleased; but when he called on Joseph the next morning, his brother aroused all his old feelings of jealousy and suspicion, by reminding him of the gossip regarding the birth of his child; pointing out also that he should not sacrifice his own personal interests for a boy "who was half Beauharnais." Louis flew into a violent rage: "he cursed the ambition of the First Consul, and wished for his death as a happy relief for his family and for France."

The two brothers then went to the Tuileries, where there was a terrible scene between Louis and Napoleon. "Why should I cede to my son my part in your succession?" said Louis. "For what reason have I deserved to be disinherited? What will be my attitude when this child, become your own, shall find himself in a position far superior to my own, independent of me, walking immediately after you? . . . No, I will never consent; and, rather than renounce the royalty which is about to enter into our heritage, rather than consent to bow my head before my son, I will quit France; I will take Napoleon, and shall see whether you will dare publicly to ravish a son from his father." Napoleon, for the time being, was forced to yield, and to return to the plan indicated in his first talk with Joseph.

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[9] 2 Masson, 369.

After the departure of Lucien (12 April), Napoleon had only Joseph and Louis to bring to terms. He thought that his younger brother might be more amenable if the elder were out of the way, and laid his plans accordingly. He represented to Joseph that a head of the State should have had some military experience, and persuaded him to accept the command of a regiment which was in camp at Boulogne. At the same time (11 April), he made Joseph another present of 300,000 francs, which made a total for the year of 800,000.

Freed of Joseph, who left for his headquarters on the 25 April, Napoleon drew up in his own cabinet the form of the decree which was to lay before the French people the question of the hereditary Imperial government. This *Sénatus-consulte,* which was adopted by a vote of 3,572,339 *oui* against 2569 *non,* read as follows:

"The Imperial dignity is hereditary in the descent, direct, natural, legitimate, and adoptive of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the descent, direct, natural, and legitimate, of Joseph Bonaparte and of Louis Bonaparte, as it is regulated by the act of the Constitution of the Empire of the 28 floréal an XII (18 May 1804)."

The omission of the persons of Joseph and Louis, and the designation of their *descendance,* mark a project well carried out.

Joseph's advice had not been asked, but he acquiesced. He accepted the position of French prince, with a salary of a million francs; the dignity of grand-électeur, with a salary of a third of a million, and the Luxembourg as a residence. He also graciously accepted two further donations from his brother, one of 300,000, and the other of 50,000, which brought his *gratifications* for the year up to the enormous total of 1,150,000 francs.

For his share of the honors, Louis received the dignity of French prince; also that of constable of France; with the same salaries as those given Joseph. As the Salic law, which excludes women from the throne, was in force in France, and Joseph had no sons, the children of Louis were first in the line of succession.

Under two articles of the Constitution of the Empire, adopted the 18 May 1804, Joseph and his descendants, then Louis and his descendants, in the male line, were called to succeed Napoleon in the Imperial dignity, but only in default of *adoptive,* as well as of direct heirs to Napoleon.

Another article read: "Napoleon Bonaparte can adopt the children or grandchildren of his brothers, provided they have reached the full age of eighteen years, and that he himself has no male child at the moment of the adoption." This privilege of adoption was expressly limited to Napoleon, and did not extend to his successors.

It will be remarked that the terms of the plébiscite, to a certain extent, invalidated the two articles of the Sénatus-consulte assuring the heredity to Joseph and Louis.

Thus, Napoleon has his revenge. Repulsed by Louis, through the influence of Joseph, he has been forced to put off the adoption for sixteen years; but his brothers themselves are excluded from the line of succession!

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

MAY — DECEMBER 1804

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

Joseph Antagonizes Napoleon's Policies — He Opposes Joséphine's Coronation — Napoleon's Frank Explanation to Rœderer — His Ultimatum to Joseph — Louis Buys a Hôtel and a Country Estate — Birth of His Second Son — Mme. Bonaparte and Lucien at Rome — Pauline Goes to the Baths — Death of Her Son — Mme. Bonaparte Worries Over Her Position — Her Brother's Letter to Napoleon — The Emperor Designates His Mother As Madame-Mère — Caroline Makes a Scene at Saint-Cloud — Napoleon Gives His Sisters Titles — Ingratitude of His Family — Fine Attitude of Joséphine — Napoleon Decides to Crown Her

JOSEPH had accepted, with the air of one who receives an unwelcome present, the position of grand-elector, with its large salary, and a residence in the palace of the Luxembourg; but he openly disdained the titles of *Prince, Imperial Highness*, and *Monseigneur*. The fact that his high office makes him, of right, one of the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire, member of the Grand Council, and of the Private Council; also, of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honor — all of these honors, to him, seem vain so long as he is not designated in the line of succession. To his intimate friends, " he expresses himself with great bitterness and an extreme vivacity — often in terms the most injurious against the Empress." To Rœderer, he writes on the 30 May: " I do not understand you, or you do not understand me, with your *Monseigneur;* I do not wish to be that for any one: this title, and that of Highness, are both annoying." And this is not the only manifestation of his feelings: in his letters to Napoleon, he neglects intentionally the obligatory form, and addresses him as " my brother," without once employing the term " Majesty."

His position was revealed even more clearly, when, after his return to Paris, he received in his *Palace*, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, on the 8 August, the members of the four great legislative bodies, who had called to congratulate him on his new honors. The address of François de Neufchâteau, on behalf of the Senate, is very significant. "We know your love for simplicity," he said. "We know how Your Highness regards grandeurs and titles. In your opinion, the true greatness is to be useful to men, and the most flattering title is that of the good one can do." The orator evidently knew what sentiments would be acceptable to Joseph!

Joseph again showed his disregard of Napoleon's wishes, in the choice of the members of his household. For his *maison d'honneur,* the Emperor had especially requested Joseph to follow his own example, and appoint his officers and *dames du palais* from the ancient nobility, and particularly from that of the provinces recently annexed to France, such as Belgium and Piedmont. But Joseph, in his appointments, showed his spirit of independence by completely ignoring Napoleon's suggestions. His household had the air "rather of a château social set, than that of a Court: only *familiers,* country neighbors, and old friends." Napoleon, "who had a horror of divorcées, and never admitted them to his Court, found three in the suite of his sister-in-law; he who desired nobles, encountered only bourgeois."[1]

On his return from Mayence (12 October), Napoleon summoned Joseph, Louis, Cambacérès, and Lebrun to Saint-Cloud, to discuss the program for the Coronation, and, in particular, the question of crowning Joséphine. Joseph claimed that a great injustice would be done him by such a procedure. "He said that her coronation was contrary to his interests; that it would tend to give to the children of Louis titles of preference over his own; that it would prejudice the rights of his children in that it made the children of Louis grandsons of an empress, while his own would be grandchildren of a bourgeoise."

Napoleon listened to this tirade with growing impatience, but he managed to control his feelings, as he wished to know the inner thoughts of his brother.

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[1] 2 Masson, 447.

On leaving the conference, Joseph could not refrain from informing his intimate friends that Joséphine was to be crowned; and, what exasperated him even more, that the princesses were to bear the train of her mantle. One of his confidants, Jaucourt, even ventured to complain to Fouché, saying that " such an office would be very difficult for a *virtuous* woman." When Fouché demanded whether this question would have been raised in the case of Marie-Antoinette, Jaucourt replied: " Ah! that would be entirely different! *C'était une chose ancienne, consacrée!* " Of course, Fouché related the whole conversation to the Emperor, who was triply wounded: it was a reflection upon his decision, a slur upon his wife, and an attack upon his dynasty. And, as he looked at it, the attack came, not from Jaucourt, but from his brother.

At this time, the Senate proceeded to the formal verification of the plébiscite, by which Napoleon was chosen Emperor; and Rœderer seized upon this occasion to eulogize his friend Joseph, whom he placed on a par with Napoleon. The Emperor sent for Rœderer, who came to his *lever* the following morning (4 November). " How does it happen," said Napoleon to him, " that you place Joseph on the same plane with myself? What is the meaning of this eulogy that you make with so much affectation? Why, you present him as the object of the people's wish for heredity as much as myself! You forget then that my brothers are nothing except through me; that they are great only because I have made them great; the French people know them only through the things that I have said of them. There are millions of persons in France who have rendered more services to the States than they — you yourself are of that number. I cannot allow them to be placed beside me on the same line. Nor will the system adopted allow it any more. . . . But let us get down to the truth: Joseph is not destined to reign; he is older than myself, I should live longer than he, I am in good health. I was born in misery, he was born like myself in the lowest mediocracy; I have raised myself by my deeds, he has remained at the point where his birth placed him. To reign in France, one must be born in grandeur, live from his infancy in a guarded palace, or else be a man capable of distinguishing himself above all the others. . . . To succeed, the heredity should pass to children born in the midst of grandeur. If he has sons, I might adopt one, . . . but his wife does not give him sons any more than mine. You should present him only as an intermediary, worthy, in certain cases, of assuring the *descent* of my family; the French people have voted nothing for him."

Continuing he said: "They are jealous of my wife, of Eugène, of Hortense, of all my *entourage*. Well, my wife has diamonds and debts, that is all. Eugène has not an income of 20,000 livres. I love these children because they are always anxious to please me. . . . The daughters of Joseph do not yet know that I am called emperor; they call me consul; they believe that I beat their mother; while the little Napoleon, when he passes before the grenadiers in the garden, cries: *Vive Nonon le soldat!* They say that my wife is untrue, that the attentions of her children are studied; well, I wish it so; they treat me like an old uncle: that always makes the happiness of my life; I am thirty-six years old; I want some repose."

At the end of this long explanation, which throws such a clear light on his feelings and his policies, Napoleon charged Rœderer to carry this ultimatum to Joseph: "If his wife . . . has a son, perhaps I will give him the preference over the boy of Louis. I will take the one who displays the most talent. But, if I am worried, I will not await the eighteen years to end these annoyances; I will find some way to assure my tranquillity."[2]

About three weeks later (21 November), before his departure for Fontainebleau to meet the Pope, Napoleon called Joseph to Saint-Cloud, and had with him, in private, a decisive explanation. "I have given much thought," he said, "to the differences which have arisen between you and me, and I shall begin by admitting to you that during the past week I have not had a moment of repose. I have even lost sleep over the matter, and you alone could exercise such an empire over me; I do not know of any other happening which could trouble me to this point."

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[2] Rœderer, 3 *Œuvres*, 514, *et seq.*

He continued: "You must make your choice now between three courses of action: In the first place, you can give me your resignation, and retire in good faith from public office, renouncing everything; Second, you can continue to enjoy the rank of prince, but remain in opposition to my policy, as you have been up to the present moment; Finally, you can unite yourself frankly to me, and be, so to speak, my first subject."

Then, developing the three propositions, Napoleon said that, if Joseph adopted the first course, he would allow him a million — perhaps two; would permit him to buy an estate near Turin, to travel in Germany, or in Russia. In this case, he would declare the son of Louis his successor, with a regency, of which Louis would be the head, associated with Cambacérès and Lebrun.

On the other hand, the second course, the one pursued by him up to the present moment, could no longer be tolerated. If Joseph refused to attend the Coronation, and fulfill his functions as grand-elector and prince, while wishing nevertheless to retain his titles and his prerogatives, from that moment he would be regarded as an enemy.

The third course was the most simple, the one to which he was best adapted, and the one which he should finally adopt. "It is a fine enough rôle to play, to be the second man in France, and perhaps in Europe. . . . Be a prince, and do not fear the consequences of that title. When you succeed me, you can return, if you wish, to your favorite ideas. I shall be no more."

"Under these conditions," said Napoleon in conclusion, "we shall get along well together; and I desire to say to you emphatically that the third course is the one that I prefer to see you follow, although, if necessary, I can adapt myself to the first; but I will not allow you to adopt the second. This is my last word."

Joseph had no idea of giving up his titles and his prerogatives. Driven into his last trenches, he declared himself ready to conform in every respect to the wishes of the Emperor: *faisant bonne mine à mauvais jeu,* he pretended to submit.

For his part, Louis did not take any active rôle in this struggle over the question of the succession. He was occupied, as usual, in quarrelling with his wife, and in worrying over his health. In June, he found a temporary diversion in the purchase of real estate. He had never liked his new hôtel, at 16 Rue de la Victoire — partly because it had been previously the residence of a notorious lady of pleasure,[3] but mainly because it had been selected by Hortense, and presented to her by Napoleon, during his absence in the summer of 1802.

Accordingly, in June 1804, with the approval of the Emperor, but without the knowledge of Hortense, Louis exchanged this residence for another, in the Rue Cerutti (Rue Laffitte), paying an additional sum of 300,000 francs. The new hôtel had a grand court of honor, opening on the street, and large gardens in the rear, extending as far as the Rue Taitbout.

At the same time, he bought at Saint-Leu, about twelve miles from Paris, two of the most attractive estates in the vicinity of the capital, for which he paid about 500,000 francs. These purchases were financed mainly by a donation of 600,000 francs, received from the Emperor at this time. The two estates comprised about 170 acres, and there were two châteaux, of which one was very handsome, containing on the first floor ten master-bedrooms, a chapel, and a hall for spectacles.

In the long list of notes which Louis drew up, of " urgent repairs," there is one which throws much light on his relations with Hortense at this time. It reads: " Order closed the communicating doors of the first floor apartments; have them closed as solidly as possible." Apparently, Louis stood in such dread of the wiles of Hortense that he was not content to lock the doors: they must be barricaded!

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[3] Mlle. Dervieux, of the Opéra, to whom the house was given by a band of her admirers.

Fortunately for Hortense, Louis left in July for Plombières, to take the waters; and, on his return, he was obliged to go to Turin, to preside over an electoral college. Therefore, she was able to take possession of, and enjoy her new home, in peace. She put off her return to Paris as long as possible, and reached her city house only twenty-four hours before the birth of her second son, Napoleon-Louis (11 October). Napoleon did not arrive in Paris, on his return from Germany, until the following day, but Joséphine, who had preceded him by five days, was summoned in haste from Saint-Cloud. The arch-chancellor, Cambacérès, was also sent for, to attest the birth of the child, as provided in the Constitution of the Empire. The formal birth-certificate, drawn up on the 24 October, was signed by Napoleon, Joséphine, Louis, Joseph, Julie, and Eugène. The Emperor was designated as the godfather of the child, and Madame Bonaparte as the godmother. There was no official celebration, but the young mother received many handsome presents.

At the date of the founding of the Empire, in May 1804, three members of the Bonaparte family were in Italy: Madame Bonaparte *mère*, Lucien, and Pauline; and the Princesse Borghèse was the only one who returned for the Coronation, in December.

As already stated, Madame Letitia, on her arrival at Rome, had taken up her quarters with her brother, Cardinal Fesch, at the French Legation. Within twenty-four hours, all of the Roman nobility called upon her, and on the second day, Easter Monday, she was received by the Pope, with almost regal honors.

Lucien reached Rome on the 6 May, but he was not accompanied by his family, whom he had left thirty-five miles from the city, at the château of Bassano, which he had leased for the summer. At Rome, he took the Palazzo Lancelloti, and had it announced in all the European journals that he intended to send his pictures there from Paris. He also rented a house at Frascati, where his mother came to join him.

Leaving Paris on the 4 November 1803, the Prince and Princesse Borghèse reached Lyon on the 16th, and made a short visit to Cardinal Fesch. They then proceeded to Florence, where they stopped for a few days before continuing their journey to Rome. Arriving on the 9 December, Pauline was received by the Pope in a special audience four days later. The reports which the First Consul received at Paris, of his sister's reception at Rome, were so flattering to his pride that he decided at last to break his long silence. On the 13 January 1804, he officially accredited his sister to the Holy Father, in a letter in which he said: "I pray Your Holiness to show some kindness to Madame Paulette, and to aid her sometimes with your advice."

Napoleon seemed to imagine that the residence of Pauline in Italy would be so prolonged that she would be glad to dispose of her Paris mansion. He therefore tried to buy the Hôtel Charost, to which Hortense had taken a fancy. But the agent of Pauline, perhaps better informed regarding her plans, raised so many difficulties that Napoleon was forced to abandon the project. In fact, Pauline did not get on at all well with her mother-in-law; her desire now was to leave Rome, and return to Paris. Under pretext that her health required it, on the 10 June she persuaded her husband to accompany her to the baths of Pisa. After a stay of a fortnight, she then went to Florence, where she was received with the greatest distinction by the Queen of Etruria. Finally, after two weeks of fêtes, she left Florence for the baths of Lucca, where her mother came to join her.

While Pauline was at Lucca, she lost her son, Dermide, whom she had left at Frascati, with her mother-in-law. Taken ill on the 11 August, the child died suddenly three days later. Even if she had been notified at once, Pauline could hardly have had time to arrive before his death, and she certainly did not "watch by the bedside of her son several nights," as has been stated. In fact, she did not leave Lucca until the 30 August, when she returned to Florence. Here, her grief was not so great as to cause her to abstain from the fêtes of the Court. She did not go into mourning, because the boy lacked eight months of being seven years of age. But it is easy to draw false conclusions, and Pauline may have felt the loss of her only child more than she showed. Having secured the permission of the Emperor, she set out for France the first of October, taking with her the remains of Dermide, to be interred beside those of his father, at Montgobert.

After a visit to Lucien at Frascati, Madame Bonaparte set out, on the 5 July, for Lucca to join Pauline. But, prior to her departure, she had a long interview with Fesch on the subject of her status in the Imperial family, regarding which she was much worried. Her brother had just added to his other dignities that of grand-almoner of France, with a salary of 40,000 francs a year; her sons were princes, her daughters were princesses, but, beyond increasing her allowance from 120,000 to 180,000 a year, Napoleon had done nothing for her. By her *entourage* she was addressed as *Empress-mother,* but Napoleon had not authorized this ridiculous title, which would imply that the late Charles Bonaparte had been an *emperor.* Napoleon had been forced to make his brothers princes; and his sisters had persuaded him to give them the courtesy titles of princesses; but, to accord to his mother the qualification of empress, would not only be contrary to common sense, it would also raise a dangerous question of precedence between her and her daughter-in-law, the Empress Joséphine.

At the request of his sister, Fesch accordingly wrote the following letter to Napoleon, under date of the 9 July:

Your mother has left for the baths of Lucca. Her health is undermined by moral affections rather than by any physical indisposition. I have remarked that her malady is aggravated every time that she sees a courier arrive without letters for her. She was greatly distressed to learn, from the gazettes, the advent of the Empire. She has been very much affected at not receiving any special courier during the three months that she has spent at Rome. She is under the impression that Your Imperial Majesty prefers all the family to her. These grievous reflections weaken her health, and arrest all the benefits which she ought to expect from the journey, the climate, and the remedies which she is taking. I have done everything for her; have neglected nothing to quiet her apprehensions, and render her sojourn agreeable to her. But all my efforts have been frustrated by the illness of Madame Clary.

Your mother is ambitious for a title, a settled position. She is distressed that some persons call her *Majesty* and *Empress Mother,* and that others give her only the title of *Imperial Highness,* which her daughters bear. She is impatient to learn what you have decided upon. She no longer desires to return to Rome; she anticipates that Your Imperial Majesty will summon her to Paris before the end of August, the date that she intends leaving Lucca.[4]

On receipt of this letter, Napoleon took the matter under serious consideration. He consulted all the authorities on regal etiquette, who were at a loss to respond. There was no exact precedent, in either French or European history. The nearest analogous case was that of Francis the First, a king whose mother never had been queen; but in those early days the title of *Majesty* was rarely given even to the kings: it did not come into common use until the reign of Henry the Second. Louise of Savoy, although regent, never bore the title of queen: she was made Duchesse d'Angoulême, and was called simply " Madame d'Angoulême," nothing more.

Under the Bourbons, there was the qualification of *Madame,* simply, which was given to the eldest daughter of the king, to the " filles de France," and to the wife of the king's brother, the first Prince of the Blood. After a long investigation, and many conferences, this was the form decided upon. But, to avoid the necessity of changing the title, in case the Emperor should have a daughter, there was added to *Madame,* the designation: *mère de Sa Majesté l'Empereur.* In speaking of his mother, Napoleon never said *Madame,* but always *Madame-Mère;* this form, therefore, came to be the accepted usage, and it is as Madame Mère that the mother of Napoleon is known to History.

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[4] *Lettres du Cardinal Fesch,* Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Baron Larrey, *Madame Mère;* also by M. Masson (2, 415).

This matter settled, there still remained the question of her allowance, which she had so much at heart. After some reflection, Napoleon decided to give her another increase — from 180,000 to 300,000 a year; but Madame Letitia did not express any satisfaction.

In her memoirs, Mme. de Rémusat has given us an interesting account of a curious scene which took place at Saint-Cloud the day that Napoleon was declared Emperor (18 May 1804).[5] Several persons had been invited to remain for dinner; a moment before going to the table, Duroc, the future grand marshal of the palace, appeared, and instructed every one regarding the titles of prince and princesse, to be given to Joseph and Louis and their wives. Élisa and Caroline seemed to be astounded at the difference between themselves and their sisters-in-law, Julie and Hortense. Madame Murat, in particular, found it difficult to conceal her discontent.

About six o'clock, the new Emperor entered, and, without the slightest sign of embarrassment, began to salute each one by his or her new title. He seemed gay and serene, and appeared secretly to enjoy the slight constraint showed by the others. As for Madame Murat, she was in the depths of despair. During the course of the dinner, Napoleon, who loved to tease his sisters, took particular pains to address his remarks to the *Princesse* Louis; and Caroline was so jealous that she could not keep back her tears. She drank several large glasses of water, in the endeavor to control her emotions, but her tears continued to fall. Every one was embarrassed, but the Emperor only smiled maliciously.

The following day, after the dinner, at which only the family were present, there was a violent scene in the salon of the Empress, of which Mme. de Rémusat was not a witness, but of which she could hear the noise from the adjoining room. Caroline broke out in tears and complaints; she wanted to know why she and her sisters were condemned to obscurity, while *strangers* were covered with titles and honors. Napoleon, who was disgusted with her performances, replied very severely. It was on this occasion that he uttered the well-known saying: "Truly, mesdames, to behold your pretensions, one would believe that we receive the crown from the hands of the late king our father!"[6]

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[5] See 1 Rémusat, 394–398.

At the end of the scene, Caroline was so overcome with despair that she fell on the floor in a swoon. Napoleon, who never could resist a woman's tears, then relented. After a consultation with Talleyrand and Cambacérès, he ordered inserted in the *Moniteur* the following announcement:

"The French princes and princesses are given the title of Imperial Highness. *The sisters of the Emperor bear the same title.*"[7]

Nor was this all. The allowance of Élisa was raised from 120,000 to 240,000 francs, while Caroline, who had been receiving only 60,000, was given the same sum. In addition, Élisa, who was poorer, was given (22 June) a special *gratification* of 240,000 francs, which brought up to 688,000 the amount that she had received during this year (an XII). The Emperor found great difficulty, however, in regulating the position of her husband, Bacciochi, as he was absolutely incapable of holding any military command. In the end, Napoleon made him a senator, and had his name struck off the rolls of the Army.

At this moment, Napoleon might well have felt that his chief foes were the members of his own family. Their fierce ambitions, always on the alert; their determination to force from him favors, which they regarded as their rights; their gross ingratitude for everything that he did for them — all this irritated and wearied him to the last degree. He could not fail to appreciate the difference between their conduct and that of Joséphine and her children. Except for money, from time to time, to pay her debts, Joséphine asked for nothing. She accepted what it pleased her husband to give her, but without any appearance of desire, without any pretence that it was due her. If he gave to others, she displayed no envy, and did not complain that he had taken anything from her. "She lost nothing by this course," says M. Masson, "but the affair was so adroitly managed that every one was taken in, and first of all her husband."[8] In fact, Joséphine played her cards so well that Napoleon decided to have her crowned with him, and the opposition of his family only served to strengthen his determination.

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[6] M. Masson gives a slightly different version of this saying: "To hear you, one would think that I had robbed you of the heritage of the late king our father." (2 Masson, 401.)

[7] In France, no woman had ever been invested personally with a title or a dignity, except the mistresses of several of the kings.

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[8] 2 Masson, 423.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

DECEMBER 1804 — JULY 1805

NAPOLEON, EMPEROR AND KING

The Date Set for the Coronation — Napoleon Meets the Pope at Fontainebleau — Pius the Seventh — Joséphine's Confession — Her Religious Marriage to Napoleon — Ceremonies of the *Sacre* — Baptism of Napoleon-Louis — Madame Bonaparte's Return from Italy — She Buys the Hôtel Brienne — Protests Against the Marriage of Jérôme — Jérôme's Life at Baltimore — He Announces His Marriage — Ordered Back to France — Arrives at Lisbon with His Wife — Rushes to Italy to Meet the Emperor — Agrees to Abandon His Wife — She Proceeds to England — Birth of Her Son — Joseph Declines the Crown of Italy — Louis Refuses the Crown for His Son — The Emperor Decides to Assume the Crown Himself — The Coronation at Milan — Negotiations with Lucien — He Refuses to Abandon His Wife — Eugène Appointed Viceroy of Italy

TWO dates had been tentatively set for the Coronation: the 14 July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and the 9 November, the day of the coup d'état of the 18 Brumaire. But it was obvious that neither one of these dates was appropriate; and the delay in concluding the negotiations with the Vatican finally made it necessary to defer the ceremony until the 2 December.

Pius the Seventh was troubled at the thought of "crowning the murderer of the Duc d'Enghien," and it was not an easy task to overcome his scruples. The motives which finally actuated him were, the thought that the Church would benefit by his presence at Notre-Dame, and the hope of recovering the northern part of his States. He was to be disappointed in both expectations.[1]

On Thursday the 22 November, the Emperor left Saint-Cloud for Fontainebleau, to meet the Pope, who had set out from Rome the first of the month, for his long and tiresome journey to Paris. He was expected at Fontainebleau on Sunday. To avoid all ceremony, the Emperor, dressed in a hunting costume, left the palace about noon that day, and encountered the carriage of the Pope at the Croix de Saint-Hérem. The Holy Father, clad in white garments and with white shoes, was reclining in his *berline,* when he was startled by the appearance of his host. Napoleon at once dismounted; the Pope alighted, rather unwillingly, in the mud of the Forest, and the two sovereigns embraced with the greatest cordiality.

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[1] See 1 Rose, 439.

Meanwhile, the Emperor's carriage had been driven up, and Napoleon entered first, in order to give the Pope the seat of honor on the right.[2]

The carriage then proceeded to the palace, where the Empress and all the members of the Court were gathered at the door, to meet the Supreme Pontiff. The sovereigns dined together, and the Pope retired at an early hour, to rest after the fatigues of so long a journey in the cold of an early winter.

Pius, at this time, was sixty-two years of age. He was of medium height, with a handsome face, which was at once grave and kindly. Dressed in a long white *soutane,* which fell around him like the drapery of an antique statue; with his visage devoid of color, he had an almost ethereal air. His noble countenance, his sweet expression, his soft but resonant voice, produced a strong impression on all who met him.

" The following day," writes Mme. de Rémusat, " His Holiness received all the members of the Court who presented themselves at his apartment. We were all granted the honor of kissing his hand, and receiving his blessing." This same day (Monday), the sovereigns exchanged visits, and Joséphine seized the opportunity of confiding to the Holy Father that her marriage had never been blessed by the Church. Pius, calling her always by the name of *sa fille,* promised that he would require the Emperor to legalize his union with her prior to the Coronation.[3]

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[2] This is the version of Mme. de Rémusat, who was then at Fontainebleau, and it agrees with the official report in the *Moniteur.* Mr. Rose, relying on the statements of Savary and Bourrienne, says that the Pope was politely guided to the left door, while the Emperor entered by the right, and took the seat of honor, " thus settling once for all the vexed question of social precedence." (1 Rose, 440.) As a matter of fact, few, if any, of the State carriages of that day had any *marchepieds* on the left side, and the whole story seems incredible. (See 2 Rémusat, 61.)

At first, Napoleon had regarded the Coronation only as a great spectacular ceremony, without giving any thought to its religious aspect. A Pope had consecrated the second dynasty, therefore a Pope should crown the fourth dynasty, in the person of Napoleon, " the successor of Charlemagne." In the eyes of Pius the Seventh, however, the Coronation was a sacrament, which one could receive only in a " state of grace." In the case of Napoleon, he was willing to make the concession of dispensing with the usual public communion; but, as soon as he knew that Napoleon and Joséphine, in the eyes of the Church, were living in a state of concubinage, he insisted upon their religious marriage. Having revealed this fact, Joséphine was adroit enough to keep quiet, and say no more. It was a scene from the *Mariage forcé;* but Joséphine had made no demand!

On Thursday, the 29 November, the Court returned to Paris, the Emperor and the Pope making the journey in the same carriage. Pius was lodged in the Pavillon de Flore, in the south wing of the Tuileries, and was served by a part of the household of the Emperor.

At first the Pope was not greeted at Paris with the respect to which he was used; but soon the terrace of the Château was crowded every morning by a mass of people, who acclaimed him, and knelt to receive his benediction.

At this time, M. de Rémusat was master of the wardrobe as well as first chamberlain. Calling on the Empress two days before the Coronation, to give her the diadem which had just been finished, he found Joséphine in a state of great satisfaction. " Taking my husband to one side," writes Mme. de Rémusat, " she confided to him that, during the forenoon of that day, an altar had been prepared in the Emperor's cabinet, and that Cardinal Fesch had married them in the presence of two aides de camp. After the ceremony, she exacted from the cardinal a written attestation of their marriage. This paper she always carefully guarded, and never consented to give it up, notwithstanding the efforts of the Emperor to obtain it." [4]

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[3] 2 Rémusat, 62–63. Other accounts state that Joséphine revealed this fact to the Pope under the seal of the confession. (See Masson, *Joséphine répudiée,* 25.)

The second of December dawned cold and foggy, but the bright sun soon dissipated the mists. Visitors had come from every part of the Continent to see the Coronation, and the streets were crowded with spectators; windows along the route of the procession rented as high as three hundred francs.

At nine o'clock, the Pope left the Tuileries in a carriage drawn by eight dapple-grey horses. According to the custom at Rome, he was preceded by one of his *cameriers,* mounted upon a mule, and bearing a large cross. This novel sight greatly amused the Parisians.

The Emperor and Empress did not start until about an hour later. Their carriage was drawn by eight cream-colored horses with brilliant harnesses. It was decorated with allegorical paintings on a gold background, and all of the panels were of glass, so that the sovereigns could be seen from every side. The Emperor occupied the seat of honor, with the Empress by his side; and Joseph and Louis sat opposite them. Notwithstanding the bitter cold, Joséphine wore a very décolletée evening gown, cut square in front, and very low in the back, with no wrap over her shoulders. She was covered, however, with diamonds, to the value of several million francs, the diadem alone being estimated at over one million.

The cortège left the Tuileries by way of the Carrousel, and followed the Rue Saint-Honoré, as the Rue de Rivoli was not then finished. Marshal Murat, at the head of twenty squadrons of cavalry, led the way; then came the sovereigns, followed by the principal dignitaries of the Empire, in eighteen six-horse carriages. The narrow sanded streets, not averaging more than twenty feet in width, were guarded by a double line of infantry, who kept back the crowds.

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[4] The account given by Mme. de Rémusat does not agree with many other versions, which are in accord in stating that the ceremony was performed on the night preceding the Coronation, and that no witnesses were present. As her original manuscript was burned during the Hundred Days, and the memoirs which we now have were written in 1818, her memory must have been at fault regarding these details. (See 1 Rémusat, 339.) Upon this question, see also: Welschinger's *Le divorce de Napoléon,* and his *Le Pape, et l'Empereur;* Masson's *Joséphine répudiée;* articles in the *Débats,* 23 avril and 22 mai, 1901; also the letters of M. Welschinger and of the P. Dudon, in the *Revue napoléonienne,* IV, 289.

Arrived at the palace of the archbishop, Napoleon put on the coronation costume. Over a narrow robe of white satin, he wore a heavy mantle of crimson velvet. On his head he placed a crown of golden laurels; on his neck, the collar of the Légion d'honneur, in diamonds; at his side, a small dress-sword, with the Regent diamond in the hilt.

After the High Mass, the Pope blessed, one by one, the Imperial emblems — the ring, the sword, the mantle, the sceptre, and the " hand of justice." Then, as he was about to proceed to the final act of the ceremony, Napoleon took from his hands the crown, and proudly placed it himself upon his head.

After much opposition from the Imperial princesses, it had finally been decided that Julie and Hortense, with the three sisters of the Emperor, should bear the train of the mantle of the Empress. This mantle, of red velvet, lined with ermine, was very heavy, and the rôle of the princesses was far from being merely honorary. As Joséphine advanced to the steps of the altar, where she was to be crowned by the Emperor, the three sisters, and Julie, entirely neglected their part in the " service d'honneur," and the Empress was nearly pulled over backward by the weight of her mantle. Napoleon noticed this little scene, and a few sharp words from him quickly quelled the mutiny.

Arrived before the altar, Joséphine knelt, joined her hands, and gracefully bowed her form. Napoleon then placed upon her head the small closed crown surmounted by a cross; " he even seemed to take a loving pleasure in arranging it carefully upon her hair." Joséphine had never been so happy, or appeared so charming as on this occasion. Her features had been touched up by Isabey, with his painter's art, and she did not look a day over twenty-five.

At the end of the ceremony of the coronation, the *Te Deum* was chanted; then there was a series of orisons; and it was three o'clock before the procession left the cathedral. The cortège returned by way of the boulevards, the Rue Royale, and the Place de la Concorde, entering the palace on the side of the Gardens. It was after six o'clock before they reached the Tuileries; night had fallen, and all the windows were illuminated.

Napoleon was glad to exchange his ceremonial robes for his usual green uniform. He dined alone with Joséphine, whom he begged to retain the diadem which she wore so gracefully, and which became her so well.

The Coronation was followed by a series of fêtes, ending on the 24 March 1805 with the baptism at Saint-Cloud of Napoleon-Louis, the second son of Louis and Hortense. The ceremony was performed by the Pope himself, a week before his departure for Rome.[5]

According to popular gossip, the Coronation had cost from fifty to sixty millions; but Napoleon declared, in an inspired article inserted in the *Moniteur*, that the total expense did not exceed three millions. M. Masson, however, estimates the cost, direct and indirect, at over ten million francs.[6]

Madame Bonaparte did not return directly to France from Lucca, as she was recalled to Rome by the serious illness of her friend, Madame Clary, who died soon after her arrival. Her death was a great loss to Letitia, as she had intended to appoint Madame Clary her first lady of honor. She was the only person who exercised any influence over the Emperor's mother, and her sound judgment, joined to much social tact, would have been of great value to Madame Mère.

After the death of Madame Clary, however, Letitia still delayed her departure for Paris, apparently in the hope that the

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[5] For fuller details of the Coronation, see the author's *Napoleon and Josephine,* 148–157; Masson's *Joséphine, Impératrice et Reine,* 226–236; and Rémusat, 68–75.

[6] See Masson, *op. cit.,* 237.

Emperor would recall Lucien, and recognize him as a member of the Imperial Family. She finally started on the 14 November, and proceeded as far as Milan, where she was joined by Lucien and his family. Here she remained a week, still waiting for a courier from the Emperor. She then set out for France, but travelled so slowly that she did not reach Paris until the 19 December, more than a fortnight after the Coronation had taken place. This, however, did not prevent her son from commanding David to insert her portrait in the celebrated painting of the *Sacre,* which now hangs in the Louvre.

On her arrival, Madame Bonaparte took up her residence in the Hôtel Brienne, which she had purchased from Lucien for 600,000 francs. The Emperor welcomed her very affectionately, but refused to confirm her new title, or increase her allowance, until she agreed to sign a formal protest against the marriage of Jérôme and Miss Patterson. For two months, the proud old lady held out, but on the 22 February 1805, she entered before a notary her solemn protest " against any marriage contracted by her son Jérôme Bonaparte in a foreign country, without her consent and in contempt of the law."

Armed with this document, on the 11 March Napoleon issued a decree declaring the marriage of Jérôme " null and void, and any children born, or to be born, of the said marriage illegitimate."

After his marriage, in December 1803, Jérôme had remained in Baltimore. In March 1804, he again refused to embark on the *Poursuivante,* under the same pretext, that he was awaiting orders from the First Consul, and the vessel sailed without him. A few days later, Meyronnet arrived in Baltimore, on his return from France, bearing letters written to Jérôme before the news of his marriage had been received in Paris .

On the 29 March, Jérôme wrote his mother, officially announcing his marriage, and sending a portrait of his wife. He refers to previous letters in which he spoke of his marriage; but, if written, they never reached their destination, as no traces of them can be found. In a postscript to his letter, he speaks of Lucien, Louis, and Paulette, and wishes to be remembered to them. There is not a word about Napoleon — no reference to the orders he has received and failed to obey; no excuse for the abandonment of his post.

During the winter of 1804, Jérôme was the lion of the season at Baltimore: he went to dinners and balls, gave parties, travelled, and amused himself generally. He gave it to be understood that he expected to be named ambassador to the United States, and promised positions to his friends. From these dreams, he was to have a rude awakening. Toward the end of June, he received the letter of the 20 April from Decrès, Minister of the Marine, ordering him, as a lieutenant in the Navy, to return to France by the first frigate available. Pichon was directed to make Jérôme no further advances of money, and to forbid " all captains of French vessels to receive on board the young person to whom the citizen Jérôme is united, the intention of the First Consul being that, under no circumstances, shall she enter France; and his will that, if she arrives, she may not land, but must return immediately to the United States."

The long despatch of Decrès ends by pointing out the example of Lucien, " obliged to leave France, to be at Rome the simple spectator of the destinies of his august brother "; and quotes *verbatim* the words of the First Consul: " If I have completely given up Lucien, who, in his maturity, has thought it best to withdraw himself from my direction, what has Jérôme to expect? Young as he is, and known only for his complete forgetfulness of his duties, assuredly, if he does nothing for me, I see in that a sign of Destiny that I have nothing to do for him."

The first of August, the news reached America that the Empire was founded, and that Jérôme was excluded from the line of succession. This time, the young prodigal was touched to the quick. From Boston, on the 4 August, he wrote Talleyrand, and also his brother, expressing his desire to return to France. In none of his official letters does he speak of his marriage, or mention the name of his wife. But he was much mistaken if he thought that his escapade was either forgotten or forgiven. The middle of August, by an official despatch from

Talleyrand, he was notified that, "in contracting a marriage contrary to the laws of France, of which he was a citizen, he could not hope that this marriage would be considered valid. His Imperial Majesty regards it as null, and does not recognize it."

Jérôme was also soon to be disillusioned if he imagined that he could count upon any support from his brothers. The middle of October he received a letter from Joseph, in which, after promises of money, and assurances of friendship, he found the significant phrase: "Say to Madame Bonaparte that, as soon as she has arrived, and been received by the head of the family, she will have no brother more devoted than myself."

Fortunately Jérôme was no longer embarrassed for funds, as he had received notice from Paris that the drafts, for two hundred thousand francs, which he had drawn in February, had been discounted. Relieved of his money troubles, the hopes of Jérôme revived; he imagined that, if he arrived unexpectedly with Betsy, her beauty would win all hearts, and the Emperor would open his arms. The last of October, he engaged passage on a brig, and sailed from Philadelphia with his wife, but ran into a severe storm off Cape Henlopen, and was forced to return. This attempt, followed two months later by another, which also failed, became known in Paris, and arrangements were made to receive Jérôme in Europe in case a third essay was more successful.

Having exhausted his money and his credit, in these several attempts, Jérôme finally sailed from Baltimore, on the 3 March, with his wife and her brother William Patterson, on the *Erin*, a brig belonging to Mr. Patterson, and reputed to be the finest sailing-vessel in the United States. On the 8 April the vessel entered the Bay of Lisbon.

Sérurier, the French chargé d'affaires at Lisbon, had his orders, and executed them promptly. He informed Jérôme that he had a passport at the disposition of the brother of the Emperor, but that *Miss Patterson* could not disembark. He then saw Betsy, and asked in what way he could be useful to Miss Patterson. "Tell your master," she is said to have replied, "that *Madame Bonaparte* is ambitious, and that she claims her rights as a member of the Imperial Family."

Betsy had counted on her charms to soften the heart of the Emperor, but Napoleon was determined not to give her a chance. He never could resist the pleadings and the tears of a pretty woman. Therefore, as soon as he heard of their arrival, he sent his orders in every direction, to all the Imperial officials. To his mother, he wrote from Italy, on the 23 April: "M. Jérôme Bonaparte has arrived in Portugal with the woman with whom he is living. I have sent orders to this prodigal son to proceed to Milan by way of Perpignan, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Turin. I have given him to understand that, if he diverges from this route, he will be arrested. Miss Patterson, who is living with him, has taken the precaution of bringing her brother with her. I have given orders that she shall be sent back to America."

Jérôme, however, had not awaited the orders from his brother. Scribbling a letter in pencil to his wife, he took the passport offered him by Sérurier, and set out for Italy. At Madrid, en route, he addressed a letter to his wife, under the name of *Madame d'Albert,* at Amsterdam, in which he promised faithfully to rejoin her by the middle of June at the latest.[7]

Jérôme travelled so rapidly that he reached Turin on the 24 April, only two days after the date that Napoleon learned of his arrival in Portugal. He was full of fire and enthusiasm, and confident of gaining his cause. But Napoleon, who had a dread of scenes, refused to receive his brother, and made known his terms through third parties: No payment of Jérôme's enormous debts; no rank or title; exclusion from the heredity; perhaps a court-martial, with the penalty of death, for his desertion of his post. At the end of ten days, Jérôme capitulated.

On the 6 May, the Emperor wrote him: "My brother, there is no error that a true repentance does not wipe out in my eyes. Your union with Miss Patterson is null in the eyes of religion, as in the eyes of the law. Write Miss Patterson to return to America. I will grant her a pension of sixty thousand francs, for her life, on condition that, under no circumstances, she bears my name, a right which she does not have in the non-existence of her union. . . ."

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[7] These interesting letters are quoted in full, 3 Masson, 96–97.

Then he gave Jérôme an interview. He also sent Lecamus to Amsterdam, to see Miss Patterson, and "inform her as to the state of affairs."

When Lecamus reached Amsterdam, Miss Patterson was no longer there. The authorities had refused to allow her to land, and the *Erin* had sailed for Dover, where she landed on the 19 May. She established herself at Camberwell, in the suburbs of London, and there, on the 7 July, she gave birth to a son, who later,[8] after her return to America, was baptized under the name of Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte.

Elizabeth had news, directly and indirectly, from Jérôme for some time, and he wrote her occasionally for many years,[9] but they never met again.[10]

After their interview at Alessandria, Napoleon gave Jérôme an allowance of 150,000 francs, and later, a command in the Navy.

In the case of Madame Jouberthou, it is possible to sympathize with Napoleon, and even to approve his course. This woman had been the mistress of Lucien, during the lifetime of her husband, for a year before their marriage, and their eldest child had been born out of wedlock. Napoleon could not afford to soil his new Imperial ermine by placing this boy, ahead of the sons of Louis, in the line of succession to his throne. But the case of Jérôme was entirely different. Elizabeth Patterson was a young girl of good family, and of irreproachable reputation. Moreover, she was a woman of strong character, and just the kind of a wife needed by the amiable, but irresolute, Jérôme. Napoleon's action, in refusing to receive her, can be attributed mainly to snobbism.

[8] The exact date was the 9 May 1809, and he is described as the "legitimate son of Jérôme Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson."

[9] Copies of a number of his letters are printed by M. Masson. (See 3 Masson, 100–102, and 419–446.)

[10] See Appendix C.

As soon as the Empire had been recognized by the Powers not at war with France, there had arisen the question of the disposal of Italy. It was manifest that the title of Emperor of the French was not compatible with that of President of the Italian Republic. Napoleon thought for a moment of assuming the ancient title of King of the Lombards; but he soon abandoned this idea for a new project, which he imagined would be satisfactory alike to Italy and to Austria, while relieving a domestic situation which was causing him much embarrassment: this was, to offer the crown to Joseph.

As early as the month of September 1804, without speaking to Joseph, Napoleon had made some overtures to the Austrian Government. " He announced his intention of separating this part of Italy entirely from the French Crown, and making of it a kingdom for his brother, on condition that he, in accepting it, should renounce his right of succession to the Imperial throne." This proposition was favorably received at Vienna, and it only remained to carry it out.

Soon after the Coronation, the Emperor took the matter up with Joseph, who seemed to be entirely satisfied. Napoleon certainly considered the matter as settled, for, on the first day of January 1805, he wrote the Emperor of Germany: "*I have ceded* all my rights upon Italy . . . to my brother Joseph, whom *I have proclaimed* hereditary King of this country with the clause of the renunciation of the crown of France, as in the case of Philip the Fifth at the beginning of the last century, in such manner that the two crowns cannot be united under the same head."

In his memoirs, Joseph has given a very inexact account of these negotiations with his brother, and pretended that he refused from the first to entertain the proposition. The falsity of his assertions is clearly proved by the letter quoted above, and also by another which Napoleon wrote the Emperor of Russia two weeks later (14 January). Further proof is also to be found in the *Pragmatique* drawn up, apparently by common consent, although the names are left in blank.[11]

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[11] Quoted 3 Masson, 12–15.

The three final articles of this paper provided: (VII) that in accepting the crown of Italy, Joseph should renounce that of France; (VIII) that if the Emperor should die without leaving a son, without an adopted son, without having designated Louis to succeed him, or the sons of Louis being minors, then Joseph should mount the Imperial throne; and (IX) Louis should be called to the throne of Lombardy.

These clauses, which Napoleon refused to modify, proved an obstacle in the eyes of Joseph, who was not willing to give up his *rights* to the throne of France. After taking several days for reflection; and consulting his friends, who all advised him to accept, on the 27 January he declared that he would not go to Italy if called upon to surrender the rights which "nearly four million Frenchmen had given him."

Napoleon was very much irritated: he felt that Joseph had placed him in a very false position, by letting him believe that he would accept. In order to keep his promises made to Europe, he now considered the plan of giving the crown to the eldest son of Louis, with Louis as regent during the minority. After some deliberation, however, he abandoned this idea, and had prepared a new constitution, in which he declared himself King of Italy, with the son of Louis as his successor.[12] But this project also had to be given up, as Louis refused to consent to the designation of his son.

Thwarted in all his plans by the *mauvaise volonté* of his brothers, Napoleon made up his mind to assume the crown himself, and appoint Eugène viceroy, in case Lucien still proved recalcitrant. As a preliminary step, on the first of February he made Eugène one of the grand dignitaries of the Empire, by naming him Archchancellor of State. In his very eulogistic letter to the Senate, he calls Eugène *the child of our adoption.*

On the second day of April, Napoleon left Fontainebleau for Milan, where he was to be crowned as King of Italy. Although Joséphine bore the title of Queen of Italy, she was not to be crowned, as at Notre-Dame, and Napoleon had not expected to

[12] See 3 Masson, 18–19.

take her with him. But she pleaded so warmly that he finally yielded; and, in order not to fatigue her, the journey was made by short stages. En route, Napoleon visited his old school at Brienne, which he had not seen since he left it for the military school at Paris, twenty years before.

On his arrival at Turin, 19 April, the Emperor found that the Pope, who had left Fontainebleau two days before him, was occupying the royal palace; he therefore took up his residence in the former château of the Emperor at Stupinigi near the city. On the 26 April, he received there a visit from Pius, who came to make his adieux, before leaving for Rome, and passed with the Emperor the greater part of the afternoon. Three days later, Napoleon left with Joséphine for Alessandria, where on the 5 May he held a grand review of the 27th Military Division on the battle-field of Marengo. He had brought from Paris, and wore again on this occasion, the old and faded uniform, the shapeless hat, and the heavy sabre, which recalled so many glorious memories. The following day, after his decisive interview with Jérôme, he set out for Milan, where he arrived on the 8 May, and occupied the royal palace, in face of the cathedral.

On the 26 May, his coronation as King of Italy took place in the cathedral. The ceremonies were similar to those of Notre-Dame, but on a much simpler scale. Cardinal Caprara, the Archbishop of Milan, officiated. Napoleon himself placed upon his head the celebrated Iron Crown of the ancient kings of Lombardy, at the same time using the traditional formula: "God gave it me; woe to him who touches it!" Joséphine was present at the ceremony, but only as a spectator.

Hoping up to the last moment that Lucien would finally capitulate, Napoleon did not publicly announce his decision regarding the government of Italy until ten days after his coronation.

After the departure of his mother for Paris, in November 1804, Lucien had remained at Milan, in order to be near France in case Napoleon called him to Paris for the Coronation. No summons came, but he still prolonged his stay. When it was rumored that Napoleon was coming to Italy for his coronation at Milan, Lucien seized this occasion to write his brother a very submissive letter. " Every mark of your kindness, Sire," he said, " will be very precious to me; for, if events have excluded me from the family of French princes, I do not think that I have deserved, and I beg you to spare me, the appearance of your hatred."

This could only be considered as a formal overture for a reconciliation, and Napoleon so regarded it. He therefore sought for some means of satisfying the pride of Lucien, and coming to an understanding with him.

" You have been informed of the success of your letter to the Emperor," wrote Madame to Lucien on the 7 April. " The eve of his departure we had a talk about you, and I am extremely pleased with the favorable disposition he showed regarding you. . . . It is not enough to have begun, you must finish the work. Seize the favorable moment; do not allow this fine opportunity to escape, to reunite yourself to your brother, to assure your happiness and that of your family. If you neglect this chance, I fear that it may be the last which will present itself. . . . In the comforting hope that I shall soon receive the news that you have embraced the Emperor, I embrace you with all my heart, as also your whole family."

The same day, Joseph also wrote Lucien, to tell him how much Napoleon was pleased with his letter; and that the Emperor would be glad to see him at Milan. Then he states Napoleon's conditions: " As for his wife, I will not see her; but, if I am satisfied with Lucien, I will do everything that is reconcilable with my firm resolution never to recognize his wife as a sister-in-law."

Lucien was on the point of leaving for Milan when he received this letter from Joseph, and he immediately wrote Napoleon that he could not accept his conditions. " A title which I could not share with the mother of my children," he said, " would be a fatal gift which would empoison all my days."

The Emperor replied through the medium of Talleyrand, and there followed a heated correspondence with Talleyrand and

Fesch, in which Lucien employed every argument to weaken his brother. But Napoleon remained inflexible; he said that the marriage with Mme. Jouberthou must be annulled, but he did not ask Lucien to give her up: she could come to France, and he could continue his relations with her — even recognize her two children [13] as natural children — but she could not bear his name.

In the meantime, the coronation had taken place, and all Europe was waiting to know the organization of the new kingdom. In order to gain a few days more, Napoleon adjourned the Legislative Body until the 7 June. Then he wrote Lucien, through Fesch, on the 28 May: "You have time for reflection until Thursday next. Sunday, the 2 June, the day of Pentecost, the matter must be decided."

Lucien felt like a "drowning-man, who was being dragged to the abyss by the dear ones he wished to save." With all his soul, he longed to be a prince, an imperial highness, a viceroy, perhaps a king; but he would not consent to give up his wife, and the son she had borne him.

Every effort possible was made by the members of the Imperial Family to shake Napoleon's resolution, but in vain. "Lucien," he said, "prefers, to the honor of his name and of his family, a dishonorable woman, who bore him a child before he was married to her, who was his mistress when her husband was in Santo Domingo."

The fatal day came, but Napoleon still deferred any public announcement of his decision. At last, on the 7 June, he proclaimed Eugène de Beauharnais viceroy of Italy.

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[13] She had given birth to a second child, at Milan, on the first of December.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

JUNE 1805 — APRIL 1806

MARRIAGE OF EUGENE

Napoleon's Return to France — His Travelling-Coach — Campaign of Austerlitz — Plans for Royal Family Alliances — The Pope Refuses to Annul Jérôme's Marriage — The Emperor Forced to Turn to the Beauharnais — He Investigates the Family of Bavaria — Augusta and Her Fiancé, Charles of Baden — The Elector Promises Augusta to Eugène — Napoleon Sends for Joséphine — Opposition of Augusta — Her Father's Plea and Her Reply — Napoleon Reaches Munich — He Calls Eugène from Italy — Announces the Marriage — Arrival of Eugène — The Marriage Ceremonies — Portraits of Augusta and Eugène — Napoleon Leaves for Paris — Stéphanie de Beauharnais — Her Marriage to Prince Charles — Their Happy Union

ON THE 10 June, Napoleon left Milan for a tour of all the principal cities of his new kingdom. Joséphine took advantage of his absence to visit, with a small party, the Italian lakes. On her return to Milan, she dismissed most of her suite, who were to return directly to France, and joined the Emperor at Bologna. On the 30 June, they went to Genoa, where, during the following week, there was a succession of fêtes to celebrate the incorporation of this ancient republic in the French Empire.

Late on the day of the 6 July, a special courier from Paris brought the Emperor the news of the formation of the Third Coalition, which was the direct result of his assuming the crown of Italy.[1] He left the same night for Turin, where he arrived early the following morning. He then announced his intention of returning immediately to France, travelling night and day, as was his usual custom. He advised Joséphine to follow him more leisurely, but she begged to accompany him, and he finally consented.

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[1] See 2 Rose, 9–10.

For his long journeys, Napoleon used a very heavy, and strongly built, two-seated *berline,* the body swung on thick leather straps, attached to strong C springs. The exterior was very plain, the only mark of distinction being the Imperial arms emblazoned on the door-panels. At the four corners of the body there were square black metal lamps, made to burn large wax candles. A travelling trunk was carried behind on a rack. The coach was drawn by six heavy Norman horses, four driven by the coachman, and the two leaders controlled by a postilion.

The most novel feature of the coach, however, was the arrangement of the interior. There were two deep and roomy seats, separated by a movable arm-rest. Opposite the right-hand seat, and folding into the bulkhead, there was a well-appointed desk, which when drawn out came over to the back seat. Below this, there was a door, hinged to open toward the middle of the carriage, so that it divided the interior into two separate parts. Here, neatly encased in a very small recess, was Napoleon's bed. Placed upon a board which connected with the rear seat, this formed a very comfortable couch, on which the Emperor could repose at full length.

The other side of the coach was similarly arranged, but with a tier of drawers in place of the desk. In these were carried toilet articles, and a complete table service. In the centre of the back there was an oil reading lamp.[2]

Napoleon and Joséphine reached Fontainebleau on the night of the 11 July, after an absence of exactly one hundred days. Although they were delayed for three hours on Mont-Cenis, and eight or ten hours more were lost by stops on account of the Empress, as Napoleon wrote Eugène, the journey of 450 miles was made in eighty-five hours, or at the rate of about six miles an hour.

On the 17 July, Napoleon arrived at Saint-Cloud, while the thunder of the cannon of the Invalides announced his return to the capital. Two days later, after a call on Madame Mère, the sovereigns attended the Opéra, where they received a warm welcome from the audience.

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[2] See the author's *Napoleon the First,* 176–177. The last coach used by Napoleon, built for him in 1811, and employed during his last four campaigns, was captured by the Prussians after the battle of Waterloo. For eighty years, until burned in 1925, it was the most interesting exhibit at Madame Tussaud's, in London.

The first of August, Joséphine left for Plombières to take the baths, and Napoleon set out for a month's tour of inspection of the Grand Army, which was in cantonments along the Channel, prepared for a descent on England. Here, ten days later, the Emperor received news that Admiral Villeneuve, after an indecisive action with the British fleet off Ferrol, had sailed for Cadiz, instead of joining the Channel fleet at Brest as ordered.

In view of the menacing attitude of Austria, Napoleon was forced to abandon his plans for the invasion of England, and set his army in motion for the Rhine. Calling Daru to his headquarters at Pont-de-Briques, he dictated at one sitting the plan of the Austrian campaign.

On the 4 September, Napoleon returned to Saint-Cloud, where he remained quietly until he left three weeks later to put himself at the head of his troops in Germany. Accompanied by Joséphine, he made the journey to Strasbourg without any stop. After a stay of four days, he crossed the Rhine, and joined his headquarters at Ettlingen. On the 7 October, at Donauwörth, he issued the first of the famous bulletins of the Grand Army. Twelve days later, he received at the abbey of Elchingen the capitulation of General Mack. On the eve of the surrender of Ulm, he wrote Joséphine: "I have destroyed the Austrian army by simple marches. I have made 60,000 prisoners; taken 120 cannon, more than 90 flags, and more than 30 generals. . . . I have lost only 1500 men, of whom two-thirds are but slightly wounded."

After the capitulation of Ulm, Napoleon concentrated his forces, and marched rapidly down the right bank of the Danube to Vienna, which he entered on the 13 November. Murat seized the bridge across the river by a stratagem, so that the army could cross immediately. On the 2 December, the anniversary of his coronation, the Emperor decisively defeated the Austrian and Russian armies, commanded by the two Emperors. Austerlitz was Napoleon's most brilliant victory, and he never ceased to be proud of it.

After the battle, Napoleon returned to Vienna, to await the conclusion of the negotiations for peace. By the Treaty of Presburg, signed on the 26 December, Napoleon's allies, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, gained considerable increases of territory, and the two electors, the title of king. Napoleon had determined that these aggrandizements should be paid for by three marriages: that of his stepson Eugène with the Princesse Augusta of Bavaria; that of Prince Charles of Baden with Joséphine's cousin, Stéphanie de Beauharnais; and, finally, that of his brother Jérôme with the Princesse Catherine of Würtemberg.

After careful consideration of the subject, Napoleon had determined to consolidate his power by a system of family alliances, and by the creation of a ring of buffer States surrounding his Empire. This policy was undoubtedly the underlying reason for the strong opposition he had made to the marriages of Lucien and Jérôme, as he wished to use his two brothers as pawns in his game.

Napoleon was certainly ambitious, but it was his misfortune, rather than his fault, that he could never call a halt to the progress of his Empire. All of his wars were essentially defensive in their character. He had no sooner established a satisfactory frontier than he was called upon to defend it. The treaty of Presburg marked one of the points at which he would have liked to stop, but the Czar, although beaten, refused to make peace.

In his struggle with Austria Napoleon had drawn to his side the rulers of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, and had thus attached these three princes to the fortunes of France. In his alliance with these Courts, he now proposed to introduce what he considered an even stronger bond — the tie of family. "The union which he had established by the influence of his politics, affirmed by the power of his arms, consolidated by his benefits, he thought to render definite and perpetually binding by injecting some of his blood into the German dynasties, raised by him to royalty."[3]

Of his own blood, properly speaking, however, he had now at his disposal only Jérôme; and he was not at all sure that he could count even on Jérôme. He was not certain that his brother had definitely given up his wife; or, if he had, whether the marriage could be annulled. Napoleon himself maintained that the marriage with Miss Patterson, under the French laws, was absolutely null and void — no more a legal bond than "a union between two lovers, who espouse each other in a garden, upon the altar of love, under the light of the moon and the stars." In this opinion, Cambacérès, who was a jurist, did not coincide: he held that the marriage was legal, and must be dissolved by due process of law. Napoleon, however, refused to yield on this point, and would take no action to annul before a civil tribunal a marriage which he held did not exist.

But he was forced to admit that there had been a religious ceremony — a marriage performed by the Bishop of Baltimore in conformity with the rites of the Holy Catholic Church. This, however, was "a simple affair of form," and could be broken without any serious difficulty. He had spoken casually to the Pope on the subject, when Pius was at Paris, and thought that the matter was arranged.[4]

Nevertheless, he felt that a verbal statement, made informally in the course of a conversation, was not quite enough; so on the 24 May, he wrote the Holy Father, to recall the matter to his mind, and asked for a bull annulling the marriage.[5]

Napoleon's letter was more in the form of a demand than of a request, and was maladroit to the last degree. He was so much in the habit of commanding, and being obeyed, that he would not condescend to beg. With a little more diplomacy, he might have gained his point.

The Pope, with good reason, was dissatisfied with his journey to Paris: it had not brought him the restoration of the Legations, or any of the other advantages he expected — only vain honors and useless presents. The letter of the Emperor found him therefore in anything but a complaisant frame of mind. He replied that "it was impossible for him to find, among the alleged reasons, . . . a single one which would permit him, as desired by the Emperor, to declare the nullity of the said marriage."

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[3] 3 Masson, 152.

[4] See his letter of the 13 May 1805, to Cambacérès.

[5] His letter is cited, 3 Masson, 155.

Napoleon was very much disappointed at this stand of the Pope, which he regarded as dictated by politics, although it was more probably a matter of conscience. From that moment he looked upon Pius as an enemy, and resolved to seize the first opportunity to take his revenge. He was forced, temporarily, to abandon his projects regarding Jérôme, as he could not take further steps to annul the marriage without the formal consent of his brother. Although Jérôme had given up his wife, and accepted a command in the Navy, he continued nevertheless to correspond with his dear Élisa, and the Emperor was in doubt regarding his real feelings.

In default of Jérôme, who was for the moment unavailable, and having no nephews or nieces who were of marriageable age, Napoleon was forced to fall back on the family of Joséphine. As early as the 12 July 1804, he had charged Otto, then his minister to Bavaria, "to make some enquiries regarding the Elector of Bavaria, and particularly his daughter, and to advise him whether there were known to be any projects on the part of the Elector for the establishment of this young princesse."

At that moment, Napoleon does not seem to have had any definite plan in view, and he may even have been thinking of a possible bride for himself, in case of his divorce. But a year later, his ideas were more fixed. From Boulogne, in September 1805, he directed one of his chamberlains, M. de Thiard, who was then very high in his confidence, to visit Baden, Stuttgart, and Munich, for the purpose of looking over the ground.

It soon developed, from the reports of Thiard, that there were several serious obstacles to the success of Napoleon's plans, but this did not deter him in the least from going ahead with his projects. In the lexicon of Napoleon there was "no such word as *Fail.*"

The Wittelsbach family, one of the oldest and most distinguished in Europe, had ruled in Bavaria for eight centuries. But Maximilian, the present elector, had succeeded to the throne only a few years before, upon the extinction of the senior ruling line of the family. Belonging to the cadet branch, and having no fortune, in his youth he had served in the French army, commanding the Regiment of Alsace, at the time of the Revolution. The happiest days of his life had been passed in France, and he was entirely French in his sympathies.

Maximilian had one daughter, Augusta, by his first wife, after whose death he had married Caroline, the sister of Prince Charles of Baden, to whom Augusta was now betrothed.

The Margrave of Baden, then seventy-seven years of age, had lost his only son, and his heir was his grandson, Charles, a youth of twenty-two. One of the sisters of the young prince, as above stated, was the second wife of the Elector of Bavaria, and another had married Alexander, the Czar of Russia, with whom Napoleon was still at war. Here indeed was a matrimonial tangle which it required all of the skill of Napoleon to unravel. With all his French sympathies, the Elector could not easily overcome the opposition of so many powerful dames, among whom the Emperor had few friends. To break alliances already arranged, in order to conclude one with the "Corsican adventurer," was a difficult proposition. Another serious obstacle was the attachment which Augusta had formed for her young fiancé, Charles.

After a month of fruitless negotiations with the Bavarian prime minister, Thiard advised that the matter should be taken up personally with the Elector. Tired of seeing the negotiations drag along in this way, and feeling confident that the continued victories of the Emperor must have had their effect, Talleyrand wrote Thiard on the 8 October:

"The Emperor has shown that he wishes to protect the House of Bavaria; he cannot offer a better or a surer guarantee of his sentiments for the Elector. . . . His Majesty has plainly exposed his views regarding the succession to the throne. Every one in Europe has clearly seen that the prospective heir is in the line of Louis. This well-settled arrangement places the Prince de Beauharnais (for I can already give him this title) in a particularly advantageous position. Brother-in-law of an Imperial prince, uncle of the one who will probably be called to the succession, stepson of the reigning Emperor, only son of the Empress — *voilà pour la dignité!*"

Then the crafty minister goes on to set forth the advantages which the Elector and his daughter will draw from such an alliance, as contrasted with the consequences of their refusal. "It is unnecessary for me to analyze these consequences," he adds, "and to apply them, in order to be understood by the Elector of Bavaria."

It was not necessary, however, for Thiard to make use of this despatch, as the Elector had already come to a decision. Ulm had fallen, and the victorious legions of the Grand Army were marching on Vienna. In response to a letter of the Emperor from Augsburg (23 October), he sent his minister Gravenreuth to see Napoleon, and conclude the affair. The minister overtook the Emperor on the 5 November at Linz, and there the engagements were exchanged.

Napoleon had carried his point with the Elector, but there still remained the even more difficult task of overcoming the opposition of the ladies of the family; for this, he counted on Joséphine. She was still holding her brilliant Court at Strasbourg, receiving the homages of the South German princes, attending balls and dinners, and amusing herself like a débutante. From Vienna, on the 16 November, the Emperor sent Joséphine her instructions:

"You are to set out for Munich, stopping at Baden and Stuttgart. At Stuttgart you will give the wedding presents to the Princesse Paul.[6] Fifteen or twenty thousand francs will be enough to pay; with the balance you can make presents at Munich to the daughters of the Elector of Bavaria. . . . Be affable, but receive all the homages; they owe you everything, but you owe them only kindness.

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[6] A niece of Queen Louisa, of Prussia, who had just married Prince Paul, the second son of the Elector of Würtemberg.

"The Electrice of Würtemberg is a daughter of the King of England: she is a good woman, and you should treat her well, but without affectation. . . ."

As soon as she received these orders from the Emperor, Joséphine made haste to start. Leaving Strasbourg on the 28 November, stopping en route at Carlsruhe and Stuttgart, she reached Munich on the 5 December.

On her arrival, Joséphine found the young princesse far from ready to carry out the arrangements which her father had made for her at Linz a month before. In spite of all the charms of Joséphine, she continued to refuse to break her engagement to Charles. When Duroc arrived from Vienna, on the 21 December, to make the official demand, affairs were still in the same state of uncertainty. In his letter to the Elector, the Emperor insisted that the agreement made at Linz should be carried out. "It is my wish," he said, "to see the marriage celebrated at the same moment as the conclusion of the general peace, which will certainly be signed within a fortnight."

On the eve of the signature of the peace at Presburg (25 December), the Elector, to spare himself "the unpleasantness of an explanation which might be too difficult for his shattered health," wrote his daughter the following letter:

If there were a ray of hope, my dear and well-beloved Augusta, that you could ever marry Charles, I would not beg you on my knees to give him up; I would insist even less, my dear girl, upon your giving your hand to the future King of Italy if this crown were not on the point of being guaranteed by all the Powers at the conclusion of the peace; also if I were not sure of all the good qualities of Prince Eugène and that he has everything necessary to render you happy. . . . Think, my dear child, that you will make happy, not only your father, but your brothers, and Bavaria, which ardently desires this union. . . . It costs me much, my dear, to break your heart; but I count upon your friendship, and upon the attachment which you have constantly displayed for your father; and you certainly do not

> wish to empoison the end of his days. Reflect, dear Augusta, that a refusal will make the Emperor as much our enemy as he has been up to now the friend of our House.

After reading this touching letter from her beloved father, Augusta decided that she owed it to him, to her family, and to her country, to yield. But she had some conditions to make:

> I am constrained, my very dear and tender father, to break the word that I have given to Prince Charles of Baden: as much as this costs me, I consent, if the repose of a darling father, and the happiness of a people, depend upon it; but I am not willing to give my hand to Prince Eugène unless peace is signed, and unless he is recognized as King of Italy. . . .

At a very early hour of the last day of the year, Napoleon arrived at Munich, where he expected to find all the arrangements for the marriage completed. He had not yet officially notified Eugène, but he felt sure of the consent of his stepson, who had been kept informed by his mother.

From Joséphine, the Emperor learned of all the obstacles she had encountered, and he decided to have an immediate interview with the young princesse. After a long talk with Augusta, he flattered himself that everything was understood, and wrote Eugène: "My cousin, I have arrived at Munich; I have arranged your marriage with the Princesse Augusta. . . . She is very pretty; you will find herewith her portrait on a cup, but she is much better."

Napoleon was convinced that the last obstacles had been overcome: it only remained to announce the marriage, and have the contract signed; then he could depart for Paris, where his affairs urgently demanded his presence, and leave Joséphine to attend the wedding.

On the first day of January 1806, the Elector was proclaimed King. Then several days passed without the contract being signed. Another obstacle had arisen: Augusta had stipulated, in giving her consent, that Eugène must be made King of Italy, but Napoleon refused to give him this title, or to agree to transmit the crown to him; he would only give Eugène the qualification of " adopted son." This was his final word; on the night of the 3d, he directed Duroc to have the contract signed before noon the following day, and that it should contain a formal clause providing that the marriage be celebrated within ten days.

The contract was accordingly signed; and at the same time the Emperor wrote Eugène to come to Munich at once. Then, the Queen and Augusta devised several schemes to postpone the marriage until after Napoleon's departure, with the hope, when he was gone, of preventing it entirely. The young princess was ill; then she had a sprain. Napoleon insisted on sending his own physician to attend her, and she quickly recovered. He made up his mind that he must remain at Munich until the marriage was celebrated.

In a message to the Senate, on the 7 January, the Emperor announced at the same time the peace of Presburg and the marriage of Eugène. He also commanded from Paris some splendid jewels, and a *corbeille* of over two hundred thousand francs; and gave each of his brothers and sisters orders to send presents worth from fifteen to twenty thousand francs. In order to conquer the Queen, he was so assiduous in his attentions that he even awakened the jealousy of Joséphine. The Queen, who was young and pretty, was not insensible to these courtesies from the "man of the century"; and she soon forgot her special grievances against him: the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, and the broken engagement of her brother, Prince Charles.

On receiving the Emperor's letter, at Padua on the 6 January, Eugène set out at once, and reached Munich in four days. On the 12 January, in a special message to the Senate, Napoleon announced the adoption of Eugène as his son, and designated the prince as his successor to the throne of Italy, after himself and his children.

Thereafter, in the Imperial Almanac, Eugène was designated as the *adopted son of the Emperor,* with the qualification of Imperial and Royal Highness, his name preceding those of Joseph and Louis. In his letters, Napoleon addressed him as *my son,* instead of *my cousin.* But he bore the arms of Italy, and not those of the Empire.

At one o'clock on the afternoon of the 13 January, the contract was signed, but not read, as usual in such cases. As the copy which Napoleon sent to Joseph, to file in the Archives of the Empire, was afterwards withdrawn, by Comte Regnault, under orders of the Emperor, its contents are unknown to-day.

After the signature of the contract, the civil marriage was performed by Maret, the French Secretary of State, who really was not legally qualified to act. Nor was this the only irregularity: there had been no publication, and Eugène was not designated by his legal name, but as *Eugène-Napoléon de France.*

The following evening (14 January) at seven o'clock, the religious marriage was celebrated in the Royal Chapel; and this was followed by a reception and banquet in the apartment of the Empress.

At the time of her marriage, Augusta was only seventeen. She was tall, well-formed, with a sylph-like figure, and a pleasing face. She had received a good education, and her ability is shown in her letter to her father.

Eugène was twenty-four. Without being in any way remarkable, he was well-built, of medium height; he excelled in all physical exercises, and like his father he was a beautiful dancer. He had a gay, sunny disposition; was frank and simple in his manners, without a tinge of hauteur, and was generally popular. He had inherited much of his mother's personal charm, and attracted everybody, without making any particular effort to do so. He soon won the affection of his young wife, and what was to have been a *mariage de convenance* became a real love-match. They lived very happily together, and after the fall of the Empire Augusta resisted all of the efforts of her family to separate her from her husband.[7]

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[7] Their six children all made distinguished marriages. Eugène, the eldest son, married the Queen of Portugal, but died only six weeks later; his brother, Max, espoused a daughter of the Czar of Russia, and, before the Great War, his family occupied a prominent position at the Imperial Court. Of the four daughters, Joséphine married Oscar, the son of Bernadotte, and became Queen

A week after the wedding, Prince Eugène and his wife left Munich for Milan. Napoleon and Joséphine were already on their way to Paris, where they arrived on the night of the 26 January.

Soon after his return to Paris the Emperor carried out the second part of his project of alliances with the royal families of Europe. On the 8 April 1806, in the chapel of the Tuileries, was celebrated the marriage of Prince Charles of Baden and Stéphanie de Beauharnais.

Stéphanie, who was born in Paris on the 28 August 1789, was a second cousin of Joséphine's first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais.[8] Abandoned by her father, Comte Claude de Beauharnais, when he emigrated at the beginning of the Revolution, she had owed her existence to the charity of friends. At the end of 1804, she was brought to Paris, and placed in the school of Madame Campan, by the orders of the Emperor, who was indignant at Joséphine's neglect of the young girl. On his return to Paris, after the nuptials at Munich, Napoleon sent for Stéphanie, and installed her in the Tuileries. The first of March, he formally adopted her, giving her the rank of Imperial Highness, with precedence over his sisters, and even over his mother, Madame Mère. On the day of her marriage he gave her a dot of a million and a half, besides a fine trousseau and a magnificent collection of jewels.

The marriage, begun under such auspicious circumstances, seemed to promise a happy future, but these hopes, at first, were disappointed. Stéphanie, who was only sixteen, was too young, and too frivolous, to appreciate the really fine qualities of her husband. Prince Charles, then twenty-three years of age, without being exactly ugly, had a very plain face; his pink and white complexion, and his chubby figure, gave him the air

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of Sweden; Eugénie married a Hohenzollern prince; Amélie became the wife of Dom Pedro, the first Emperor of Brazil; and the youngest daughter married the Count of Würtemberg.

[8] Her grandfather, Claude, who married the celebrated Fanny de Beauharnais, was a younger brother of François, the father of Alexandre, Joséphine's first husband.

of a Dutch doll; and his extreme timidity inspired, in his wife, neither love nor respect. But these apparent defects were only superficial; and, on better acquaintance, Stéphanie learned to appreciate the rare and excellent qualities of his heart, the refinement of his feelings. In the end, she came to love Charles very dearly, and their union finished, as so many others begin, in perfect happiness.

The greatest trial of their married life was the loss of their two sons, who died soon after birth. The sudden death of Charles, in December 1818, at the early age of thirty-five, made a great change in the position of his wife, as he had issued a pragmatic sanction, the previous year, insuring the succession to the crown to the counts of Hochberg, the issue of a morganatic marriage between his grandfather, the Grand Duke Charles-Frederick, and the Countess Hochberg.

Stéphanie won the warm affections of the grand-ducal family and of her subjects. Her death in 1860, during the Second Empire, was deeply regretted in Baden, as well as at Paris, where she was a frequent visitor.[9]

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[9] Louise, the eldest daughter of Charles and Stéphanie, married Prince Gustave de Wasa, and became the mother of the future Queen of Saxony; the second, Joséphine, married Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, and was the mother of the first King of Roumania, as well as of that prince who in 1870 was the indirect cause of the Franco-Prussian war; the youngest daughter, Marie, became the wife of the English Duke of Hamilton, after her mother had refused her hand to her visionary cousin, Prince Louis-Napoleon, the future Emperor of the French! It has been claimed, but without any conclusive evidence, that a German youth, named Kaspar Hauser, was her son. (See article in *Enc. Brit.*, XIII, 70.)

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

APRIL 1805 — AUGUST 1807

THE NEW SOVEREIGNS

Joseph's Career in the Army — His Breaches of Discipline — Napoleon's Plans to Consolidate His Power — Joseph's Rôle During the Austerlitz Campaign — Napoleon Sends Him to Naples — His Family Left in France — Napoleon's System of Government — He Proclaims Joseph King of Naples — Louis with the Grand Army — Napoleon's Tender Letter to Joséphine — He Sends for Hortense — Louis, Governor of Paris — His "Zeal and Activity" — He Commands the Army of the North — Is Ordered to Remain in Holland — Abandons His Post — Meets Napoleon at Strasbourg — His Discontent — Holland Asks the Emperor for a Sovereign — Napoleon Names Louis — He Is Formally Proclaimed King of Holland — His Acceptance — An Amusing Incident — Louis Arrives at The Hague — Leaves for the Baths — Hortense's Satisfaction — Fructification of Napoleon's Plans — Constitution of the Grand Empire — Its Fundamental Weakness

FEELING that he was in disgrace with the Emperor, just before Napoleon's departure for Italy (April 1805) Joseph went to Fontainebleau to pay his respects, and there was a kind of reconciliation. Napoleon again reproached him for his opposition to the system, and directed him to rejoin his regiment. Joseph, however, had little taste for the vocation of soldier, and only remained a week in camp. He then seized the pretext of the convocation of the electoral college of the Dyle, of which, in his quality as grand-elector, he was life-president, to make with great pomp a visit to Brussels, and take possession of his senatorship. He also visited Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, before returning to his headquarters near Boulogne.

After passing ten days in camp, we find Joseph once more on a grand tour of all the principal cities of Northern France and the Banks of the Rhine, as on the previous occasion without any congé from the Emperor, or his superior officers. At Nancy, he was joined by his wife, who had been taking the waters at

Plombières, and on the 6 June he reached Mortefontaine, where "he awaits with impatience, in the midst of his family, the orders of the Emperor."

It is impossible to state whether the conduct of Joseph was due to ignorance or disdain of military rules and discipline. Napoleon was in despair, and found it difficult to decide whether to cashier his brother, or ignore his breaches of discipline, and allow him to take his ease at his country estate. He finally decided upon the latter course. After another serious talk with Joseph, who met him at Fontainebleau on his return from Italy, the Emperor took his brother with him to the camp at Boulogne, the first of August.

It was during this stay at Boulogne that Napoleon finally matured his plans for the domination of the Continent. Forced to abandon his projects for the conquest of England, he decided, after humbling Austria, to annex Venice to Italy, expel the Bourbons from Naples, and give the crown of the Deux-Siciles to Joseph. Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden were to be rounded out, at the expense of Austria, and even more closely bound to France by family ties. Southern Germany was to be consolidated in his interests by the Confederation of the Rhine. The Batavian Republic was to be transformed into a kingdom, ruled by a sovereign or a viceroy of Napoleon's family. Northern Germany, for the present, was to be left within the Prussian sphere of influence, and that Power even strengthened by the addition of Hanover, if it entered into a firm alliance with France.

In this grand reconstruction of the map of Europe, Joseph was given to understand that the crown of the Sicilies would be at his disposal. If he failed to accept it, and to coöperate loyally with Napoleon's system, he could expect no further consideration from his brother.

Under the first general orders dictated by the Emperor, on the 23 September 1805, Joseph was to have accompanied Napoleon to the front, but the plan was changed almost as soon as formed. Napoleon may have thought that it was not wise to risk at the same time the lives of the Emperor and of his heir presumptive. At any rate, Joseph was left behind at Paris, as the chief of a kind of regency, of which Cambacérès was the real head, and the grand-elector only the shadow. Joseph seemed content with this arrangement, and his satisfaction was increased by a gift of 300,000 francs from the Emperor (23 September) before his departure. In the absence of the Empress, who was at Strasbourg, he received all the honors. His rôle, however, was insignificant. He did nothing to remedy the acute financial crisis which developed during the campaign, and which was fomented by the Royalists and their English allies to embarrass the Emperor in the midst of his campaign. But Napoleon's answer was the bulletins of his victories, which saved the Bank, and routed his financial enemies.

The news of the great victory of Austerlitz (2 December 1805) was received at Paris at the same moment as the report of the landing at Naples of an Anglo-Russian army corps. This event, coincident with the triumph of the Emperor over the Third Coalition, had only the effect of precipitating the dethronement of the Naples Bourbons, upon which Napoleon was already resolved.

In the Thirty-seventh Bulletin of the Grand Army, issued at Vienna on the 25 December, the eve of the signature of the Treaty of Presburg, Napoleon notified Europe of his decision: "General Saint-Cyr is marching rapidly on Naples to punish the treason of the Queen[1] and precipitate from the throne this criminal woman who, with so much shamelessness, has violated everything held sacred among men."

A week later (31 December), Napoleon wrote Joseph: "It is my intention to take possession of the kingdom of Naples. Marshal Masséna and General Saint-Cyr are marching upon this kingdom with two army corps. I have named you my lieutenant commanding in chief the Army of Naples. Forty hours after the receipt of this letter, set out for Rome, and let your first despatch inform me that you have put to flight this perfidious Court, and brought this part of Italy under our laws."

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[1] Caroline, of Austria, the sister of Marie-Antoinette, and the great-aunt of Napoleon's future wife, Marie-Louise.

By return courier, Joseph replies on the 7 January 1806: "I have Your Majesty's letter of the 31 December. I thank you for the confidence you place in me. I will set out in forty-eight hours."

This time there was no discussion and no explanation — no hesitation on the part of Napoleon in giving his orders, and none on the part of Joseph in obeying, as if the matter had all been arranged and understood in advance, as indeed it had been. In place of Lombardy, Joseph obtains Naples, without renouncing his claims to the Imperial succession, and it is not an establishment to disdain.

Without the least sign of hesitation, Joseph left Paris for Italy on the 8 January, accompanied by his chamberlain, Jaucourt, and his écuyer, Stanislas de Girardin. His wife and daughters remained at Mortefontaine, and he had with him no members of his family. Although very unattractive physically, Julie was amiable and intelligent; and she had gained the confidence and affection of her husband. For Madame, she always displayed much deference, but she had little liking for the rest of the Bonapartes, or for the Beauharnais. She had never forgiven Napoleon for breaking his engagement with her sister Désirée. After the departure of Joseph she rarely appeared at any of the functions or ceremonies of the Court. Joseph does not seem to have felt the separation from his wife, but he missed his daughters: he was a good father, if not a very devoted husband.

Joseph travelled rapidly: the 25 January, he was at Rome, where he had a "satisfactory interview" with the Pope; the 14 February, from Capua, he reported to the Emperor that his orders had been carried out — the advance-guard had entered Naples, the forts were occupied, and he was on the point of leaving for the capital. The Bourbons had crossed over to Sicily; the English had embarked on their ships; and the Russians had sailed for Corfu: only a few places remained to be subdued. On the 15 February, Joseph made his entry at Naples, where he was well received by all classes. In a proclamation to the people, a week later, Joseph announced the dethronement of the former dynasty, but stated that the magistrates would not be removed, no war contributions would be levied, and every kind of property would be respected.

This method of governing was not at all to the taste of the Emperor. What! the city not disarmed; no precautions taken; no indemnity levied, when the French army was destitute of shoes and clothing, and unpaid for months! In his daily letters, Napoleon insists on the measures to be taken: It is necessary to confiscate the property of the émigrés; to arm the forts; to constitute a reliable guard; to expel the English and Russian strangers; and, above all, to raise a good contribution of thirty millions to place "the soldiers, the generals, in abundance, in order that the army may be supported at the expense of the country."

This correspondence clearly reveals the essential error of Napoleon's system of governing annexed territories: there was not a simple difference of opinion, between Joseph and himself, regarding temporary measures; the fundamental principles were in question. Joseph's idea was to substitute his dynasty for that of the Bourbons, his personality for that of Ferdinand; to give a better government, but a government by and for the Neapolitans; to raise a national army, to take his position as a national king.

On the 13 April, Joseph received the decree, dated the 31 March, by which the Emperor "transferred to him the kingdom of Naples fallen into his power by the right of conquest and forming part of the Grand-Empire."

When Napoleon joined his camp at Boulogne, in August 1805, he ordered Louis to go to Lille, to take command of the reserves of the Army of England, composed of two regiments of Carbineers, of which he was colonel-general, and of two divisions of infantry. At the time he received the Emperor's orders, Louis was living in retirement at Saint-Leu, in ill health. He had nearly lost the use of his right hand, which he attributed to "the cold, his rheumatism, and the fatigue of all the ceremonies." As he wished to try the mud-baths of Saint-Amand for his trouble, he raised no objections to the service assigned him. Accordingly, he established his headquarters at Saint-Amand, and took with him his wife and elder son. Hortense was so weary of her monotonous life at Saint-Leu that she was glad to accompany her husband, even though she was obliged to leave her younger boy with Joséphine at Malmaison. This was a great consolation for Joséphine, who was very sad over leaving Eugène in Italy.

The Emperor set out for Boulogne the same day (2 August) that Joséphine left for Plombières, to recover from the fatigue of her long and rapid journey from Italy. Napoleon seems to have been much saddened at separating from his wife, and the letter he wrote her on the 13 August displays all the tenderness of the early days of the Campaign of Italy:

> I would like to know how every one is at Martinique. I do not receive news from you very often. You forget your friends: it is not well! I did not know that the waters of Plombières had the virtues of the Lethean stream. I can imagine you saying, as you drink these waters of Plombières: "Ah! [Bonaparte], if I die, who will love thee?" But we are very far from that, are we not? Everything has its end: beauty, spirit, sentiment, the sun [?] even; but that which will never have an end is the good which I desire, the happiness of enjoying it, and the kindness of my Joséphine. But I shall say no more tender things. Fie! you are laughing over them. Adieu, mon amie.[2]

In the absence of Joséphine, Napoleon wished to have some ladies to keep him company. He had his sister Caroline, installed with Murat in a country mansion, but this was not enough: he wanted Hortense. So he invited Louis to come with his family; but his brother did not wish to interrupt his course of treatment, and sent his wife and son for a visit of a week.

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[2] The writing is so illegible that it is difficult to make out some of the words.

This was exactly what Napoleon desired, and he now had two ladies at his table every night.

There were manœuvres every day, and on one occasion the Emperor and his party found themselves between two fires. "As we had followed him," writes Hortense, "it was necessary to remain. My son was not at all frightened, which gave great pleasure to his uncle." The Emperor rode along the ranks, holding in his arms this child, who laughed, and cried with his feeble voice, *Vive Nonon le soldat!*

In anticipation of his departure for the Austrian campaign, on the 31 August Napoleon appointed Louis Governor of Paris. "I tremble doubly," wrote Louis to his friend Lavalette, "(1) to be unable to decline, and (2) that I am not fitted for this position, which my bad health and the winter may prevent me from filling well, and thus compromise the service of the Emperor. . . . What shall I do? How happy I should be were I in good heath! I am writing His Majesty that he must decide for me; that I can only obey; that Corvisart knows my condition; and that, besides, health and enlightenment apart, I feel the courage to fill a place in which there is need only of courage, zeal, and goodwill."

In his order of the day, however, the Emperor gave Louis more than the government of Paris: he was to command the Imperial Guard, and the National Guard of Paris, as well as that of the cities and departments of the First Military Division; to be present at all the meetings of the Council, and to send daily reports to the Emperor.

If we are to believe the report of Louis himself, as given in his memoirs, "during this campaign, up to the end of 1805, he displayed an unimaginable zeal and activity in his command at Paris." With the exception of a few reviews, however, it is difficult to find any traces of this "unimaginable" activity. No letters from the Emperor to him, and no report from him to the Emperor, are in the Archives. It is certain, nevertheless, that Louis received from the Imperial Headquarters instructions for his guidance in case of a reverse to the Army, a descent by the English, or an attack by the Prussians. As this last danger seemed imminent, about the first of November, the Emperor issued orders on the 7th, from Linz, for the formation of an Army of the North, composed of six divisions, and placed it under the command of the Constable of France.

Again, Louis seems to think that the prompt organization of this force was due entirely to his "zeal and activity." In reality, Napoleon himself, as usual, dictated what units should make up the divisions, and who should command them. As a matter of fact, the Prussian menace was only a pretext, and the permanent occupation of the Netherlands was the end which Napoleon had in view.

Anticipating the orders of his brother, Louis despatched to the northern frontier all of the troops at Paris, in Normandie, and Bretagne, and set out for the head of his army. On the 4 December, he was at Antwerp; and two weeks later he established his headquarters at Nimègue.

Louis seems to have imagined that his operations were of the greatest benefit to his brother, and alone prevented Prussia from declaring war. But the victory of Austerlitz had settled the whole question two days before he arrived at Antwerp, and his rôle of saviour was terminated before he installed himself at Nimègue.

On the 30 December, Louis received from Berthier the following letter, dated at Schönbrunn the 21 December:

> His Majesty orders that you send back to Paris all the detachments of his Guard that you have sent to Holland.
>
> The Emperor expects to return at any moment; besides, it is his intention that his Guard should never be used in detachments.
>
> As I have already notified Your Highness, the Emperor has arranged with Prussia, which changes materially the affairs of the North.
>
> His Majesty orders you, Prince, to remain in Holland; that you place your army there in good quarters, and that you keep it on a respectable footing. . . .

The gist of these orders is to be found in the final paragraph: the Emperor intends that the Army of the North shall occupy the Batavian Republic, that its commander, Louis, shall become, by gradual steps, the governor, and finally the king, of Holland. But Louis, without paying the slightest attention to the orders of the Emperor, turned over the command of the army to General Colaud, and set out for Paris.

Napoleon learned of this disobedience to his commands, on the 21 January, at Carlsruhe, when he was on his way back to Paris. "I am told," he wrote Cambacérès, "that Prince Louis has given orders for the disbandment of the Army of the North. I do not know where he got that idea."

On his arrival at Strasbourg the following day, Napoleon was greatly surprised to find his brother waiting there to welcome him. Upon reflection, Louis had thought it best to anticipate the storm, and make his explanations. Napoleon listened quietly to his brother's statement, and did not reproach him; but he was not moved from his original purpose by Louis's saying that his departure had been hastened by the rumors in circulation in Holland regarding himself and the probable changes in the government of that country — "these reports are not agreeable to a free and estimable nation, and they do not please me any more."

Although he could be very courageous when at a distance from his brother, as soon as they were face to face Louis had not the moral or intellectual force to combat the wishes of Napoleon, and the struggle could only end in his capitulation. Covered with honors and dignities of every kind, Louis still remained uneasy, suspicious, and discontented. "The existence of Louis," he wrote in his memoirs, "became every day more insupportable in France. Without a home, without tranquillity, mute in the Council, not employed in the Army, . . . bearing plainly the marks of disfavor, few persons venturing to come to see him, he felt himself in a state of restraint and of *moral spasm* which it was impossible for him to endure any longer."

"These marks of disfavor," writes M. Masson, "were they the gift from the Emperor, on the 7 February, of 1,200,000 francs, which brought up to four millions what Louis had received this year? Were they the grand decoration of the Couronne de fer, conferred on him the 20th of the same month; the supreme command of the troops of Paris and of the military division, with which he was invested the 12 March; were they, finally, the offers frequently and publicly made him of the governor-generalship of the departments beyond the Alps? . . . Of what importance are the facts, if, in the imagination of Louis, favors are changed into slights, and dignities into marks of abasement?"[3]

In April, a rumor spread throughout Holland that the "young prince who had saved the country, the previous winter, from a formidable invasion would be called on to govern it." On the 10th, it was announced that "the Batavian Government was in accord with the Emperor to fix definitely the fate of Holland; that an Extraordinary Council had been assembled at the Palais du Bois; that its report would be read at the assembly of *Leurs Hautes Puissances*,[4] and that a delegation would be sent at once to Paris to demand a sovereign from the Imperial Family."

The large public debt, the continual deficits, the loan to France, which the Emperor constantly refused to liquidate; his incessant and aggravated demands, had led many patriotic Hollanders to favor offering the throne to a brother of the Emperor as the only means of saving the national independence, and preventing the incorporation of Holland in the Empire.

At this moment, the plans of the Emperor were aided by the serious illness of the Grand Pensioner, the executive head of the Batavian Republic, who was threatened with blindness. Napoleon directed Talleyrand to write the Grand Pensioner to suggest that an envoy be sent to Paris to concert measures "to establish in Holland a régime which would permanently assure her independence and prosperity." For this office, the Emperor designated Rear-Admiral Verhuell.

With his appointment, Verhuell received from his government strict orders "to oppose inflexibly the introduction of a hereditary monarchy to the profit of a member of the Imperial Family." But, at his first audience with the Emperor, Napoleon stated that he saw only two ways of securing a stable government: (1) to incorporate Holland in the French Empire, or (2) to give the nation a prince of his family. Therefore, "in order to give Holland a particular mark of his interest and good-will, he had decided to confide the government of their country to his brother Louis."

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[3] 3 Masson, 295.

[4] Their High Mightinesses, or deputies of the States-General.

When the delegation arrived at Paris on the 25 April, they soon found that they could obtain no modification of Napoleon's ultimatum. He refused to receive them, and sent them to Talleyrand, who laid down, as a condition precedent to any negotiations, the acceptance of Louis as the head of their government. On the 3 May, these terms were accepted.

Louis has pretended that he was kept in complete ignorance of these negotiations, and knew nothing until he was called to the Tuileries, and suddenly notified by Napoleon that he was to reign in Holland. It is true that he went to Saint-Leu the first of May, but he was present at the Tuileries, in his capacity as constable, on at least four occasions during the three following weeks. Is it probable that Napoleon said nothing to him regarding a matter which was so little secret that it was discussed openly in all the Paris journals?

On the 5 June 1806, at the Tuileries, Louis was formally proclaimed King of Holland. In the discourses pronounced by Napoleon and Louis, there appears the shadow of the misunderstanding, which later was to become so evident. "Never cease to be a Frenchman," said the Emperor. "The dignity of Constable of France will be held by you and your descendants: it will point out for you the duties which you owe to me." The reply of Louis was somewhat ambiguous, but he said in effect: "I am a Hollander; the people who acclaim me, look to me for their happiness." The object of the Emperor, in sending his brother to Holland, was, *in effect,* to unite that country to France. The thought of Louis, in accepting, was that his first duty was to his new subjects, and that he should govern Holland in her own interests, and not in those of France. Herein lay the germ of all the future conflicts between him and his brother.

In the Bowood Papers, recently published by the Earl of Kerry, there is related an amusing incident connected with this scene at the Tuileries. The new Queen of Holland was accompanied by her elder son, Napoleon-Charles, a boy of four, who was now the crown-prince. He had been very carefully educated, and had an excellent memory: every morning he used to learn by heart a piece of poetry, which the Emperor often made him repeat. When the formal presentations were at an end, every one proceeded to the adjoining salon, where, in order to put the company at their ease, Napoleon began to play with the child. "What have you learnt to-day?" he asked. — "A fable, mon oncle." — "Let me hear it." In a shrill childish treble the boy began to recite La Fontaine's *Les Grenouilles qui demandent un Roi* ("The Frogs ask for a King"). There was general consternation, followed by a dead silence. The new Queen, overwhelmed with confusion, turned scarlet. For a few moments the Emperor managed to keep his countenance, but in the end he broke into an uncontrollable peal of laughter.[5]

According to the Emperor's instructions, Louis was to leave Paris the following day, and arrive in his capital within a week. The Grand Pensioner was notified to have the palace ready, and General Michaud, the commander of the French troops in Holland, was ordered to proceed to The Hague, with all the French generals, a battalion of grenadiers and a regiment of cavalry. All of the details of the reception were so arranged as to convey the idea that it was a French prince who was coming to reign in Holland.

The departure of Louis, however, was delayed for a week, by the necessity of arranging his household and his suite, as well as those of Hortense. He was to be accompanied by a regular army of almoners, chamberlains, écuyers, secretaries, aides de camp, readers, ladies of honor, and physicians, without speaking of the domestic service. Everything was mounted on a grand scale, upon the model of the Maison of the Emperor.

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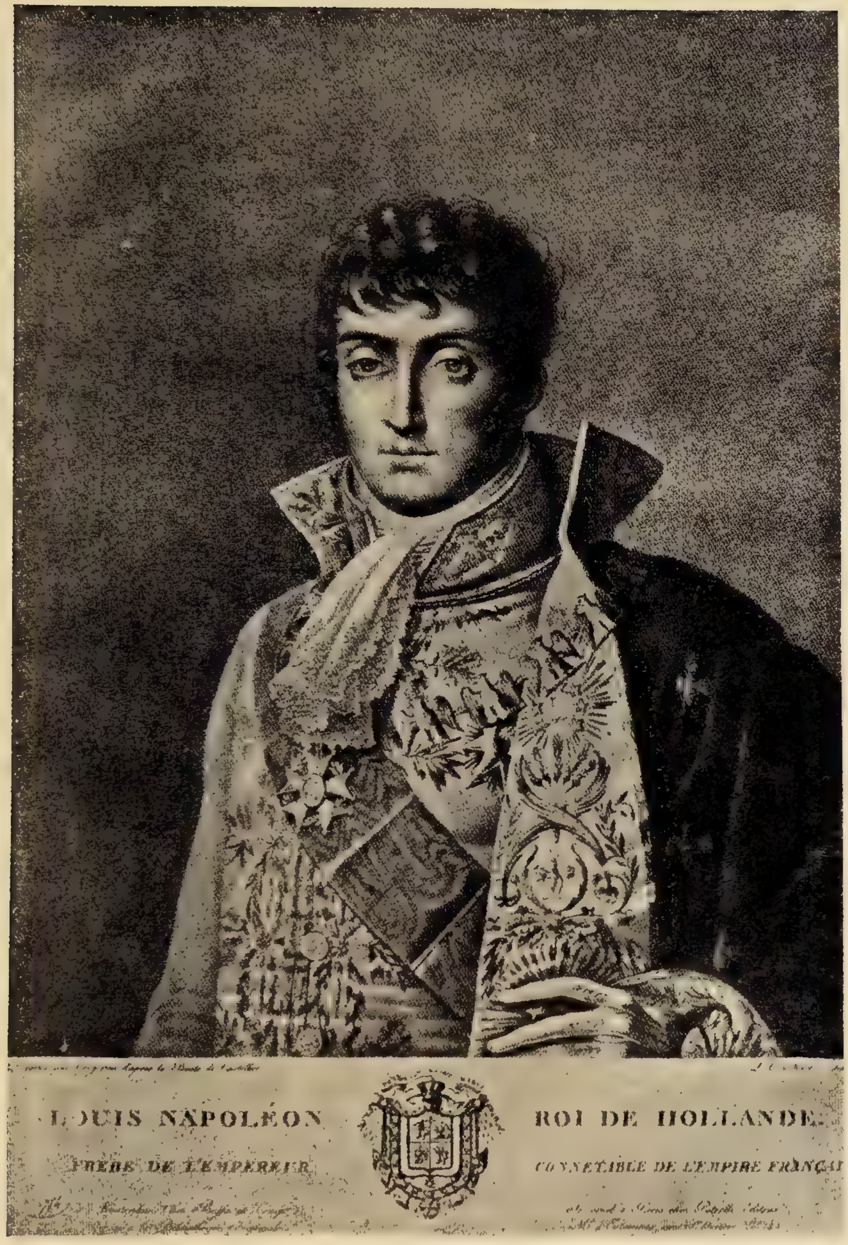
[5] Kerry, *The First Napoleon,* 230–232.


LOUIS NAPOLÉON
ROI DE HOLLANDE
FRÈRE DE L'EMPEREUR
CONNÉTABLE DE L'EMPIRE FRANÇAI

KING LOUIS

On the 12 June, Louis finally set out and arrived on the 18th unofficially at The Hague, where he went to the Palais du Bois (*Huis ten Bosch,* or " House in the Wood "), to await his solemn entry.

On the 23 June, Louis made his formal entry into his capital. Although the French troops had all arrived, and were encamped in the park, his escort was composed entirely of Hollanders — not a French soldier was admitted to the honors of the parade.

In his address from the throne, the new King did not once pronounce the name of the Emperor, or of France. He claimed that, from that day began " the true independence of the United Provinces "; and his whole discourse was calculated to show that he proposed to reign as a Hollander, and not as a Frenchman.[6]

Louis was hardly established in his kingdom before he was possessed with the idea of leaving for some spa to try a new course of baths. A week after his entry to The Hague, he wrote the Emperor: " As soon as I have . . . put in motion all my affairs, I shall take advantage of the permission that Your Majesty has given me to go to pass a month or six weeks at the waters, of which I have great need."

A month to the day after his arrival at the House in the Wood he left The Hague, accompanied by Hortense, and arrived at Wiesbaden on the 20 July. Not liking his quarters there, he moved to Mayence, whence he went daily to take his baths, up to the 18 August. Then, not satisfied with this season, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle to try a second *cure.* Here, while " Prussia is preparing for war, while Russia is assembling her troops, . . . he takes conscientiously his glasses of water and his douches." [7]

The Emperor seemed to be well satisfied with the début of the reign of Louis: no revolt in his Kingdom, no large army to support, no money to send by every courier. He was also pleased with the evidence that Louis and Hortense were on better terms than for many months past. In fact, Hortense, at first, was very contented at The Hague. Her vanity was flattered, and her imagination seduced by the splendors of royalty.

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[6] See 3 Masson, 317–318.

[7] 3 Masson, 321.

She gave dinners, and balls, at which she danced with every one. No doubt she was not pleased at the necessity of leaving her second son when she went to Wiesbaden, but she had with her the elder, who was her favorite. She also had the hope of going to Paris for the fête of the Emperor (15 August), and meeting Eugène there: "only to think of it, was a happiness!"

Thus, Napoleon had put into effect the second part of his plan for the consolidation of his power, by beginning the erection of a barrier of friendly States surrounding his Empire. From Vienna, he had announced that, "the Bourbons of Naples have ceased to reign"; and his brother Joseph had been sent to occupy the throne of the Two Sicilies. The Batavian Republic had asked for his coöperation in establishing a stable government, and he had given Holland a king, in the person of his brother Louis.

From the duchy of Cleves, ceded by the King of Prussia, and the duchy of Berg, assigned him by the new King of Bavaria, he formed the Duchy of Berg and Cleves, and gave it to his brother-in-law Murat. Finally, he constituted the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he declared himself the Protector. This Confederation was composed largely of States bound to him by family, as well as political alliances: Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, Berg and Cleves, and some dozen smaller States in South Germany.

Making a virtue of necessity, Francis the Second, the heir of twenty emperors whom his House had furnished to the throne of Charlemagne, voluntarily gave up this dignity, dissolved the ancient Holy Roman Empire, and assumed the title of Francis the First, hereditary Emperor of Austria.

As now constituted, the Grand-Empire was made up, below the Emperor, in first rank, of the princes who derived from him their hereditary titles, as kings or princes, but who were closely bound to him by their positions as grand dignitaries of the Empire; then, in second rank, the princes like Piombino and Neuchâtel, who could transmit their sovereignties in the male line, but whose heirs must receive a new investiture from the Emperor; next, a degree lower, other princes, such as Bénévent and Ponte-Corvo, who held their principalities as *immediate fiefs* of the Crown; finally, twenty-two hereditary duchies, grand fiefs of the Empire, erected in the territory newly conquered.

The fundamental conception of this organization of the Grand-Empire was the Corsican idea of the *clan,* but enlarged and amplified. Notwithstanding all of his struggles with his brothers, all of the checks he had received during the past ten years, Napoleon still believed that the family bond was the only one that was serious, durable, and permanent. He still held that no political alliance was stable unless fortified by a family alliance. He was convinced that family sentiment, only, could lead individuals to forego their personal ambitions, and cooperate loyally, under the direction of the chief of the family. In this false conception we find the germ of the death of Napoleon's system.[8]

[8] See 3 Masson, 194–195.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

MARCH 1805 — OCTOBER 1806

THE IMPERIAL PRINCESSES

Madame Mère — Godmother to Napoleon-Louis — Given the Château of Pont — Her Portrait at Fifty-five — Her Parsimony — Napoleon's Generosity — He Refuses to Change Her Title — Fesch Recalled from Rome — Made Primate of Germany — Élisa Created Princess of Piombino and Lucca — Her Court — Her Efficient Administration — Her Lovers — She Wins the Regard of the Emperor — Her Quarrel with the Papacy — Pauline's Lack of Ambition — Her Poor Health — Borghèse Sent to the Army — Pauline's Antipathy for Him — She Is Named Princess of Guastalla — But Exchanges the State for a Pension — Her Visit to Plombières and Liaison with Forbin — His Career — The Intrigues of Caroline — She Aids Napoleon in His Love Affairs — Murat's Zeal — His Rewards — He Is Made Duke of Cleves and Berg — His Administration Unsatisfactory to Napoleon

ALTHOUGH she was welcomed affectionately by the Emperor, on her return from Italy a fortnight after the Coronation, Madame Bonaparte received from her son no public marks of favor: no rank, no household, no title. Before she could reëstablish herself in Napoleon's good graces, it was necessary for her to yield on the two points which he had much at heart: that she should take his side in the quarrels with Lucien and Jérôme. As soon as she agreed to write Lucien the letter already cited, and signed the acts necessary to nullify the marriage of Jérôme, then only, the Emperor brought her out of her obscurity, and granted all her wishes.

On the 23 March 1805, Napoleon announced the title which she was to bear: *Her Imperial Highness Madame, mother of the Emperor;* and, by another decree, he conferred upon her the dignity of "Protectress of the Hospital Sisters and of the Sisters of Charity throughout the whole extent of the Empire." The same day, he regulated the questions of the arms that she was to bear, and the crown she was to wear; he also arranged her household, and selected the members, who represented both the old and the new régime.

The following day, with all her household, Madame proceeded to the Tuileries after the Mass, for the official presentations. At three o'clock, the Emperor, with the Empress, his mother, the Pope, and all the members of the Court, departed in eight Imperial carriages for Saint-Cloud, where was celebrated with unusual pomp and ceremony the baptism of the second son of Louis and Hortense, Napoleon-Louis. In the chapel, Madame, who was godmother, received all the honors: she had an armchair and a prie-Dieu like the Emperor, while Joséphine had only an armchair. At the left were six chairs for the princes; at the right, three for the princesses, of whom only Julie, Hortense, and Élisa were present. Caroline had just been confined, and Pauline was ill. Such exceptional honors, accorded to the younger son of the second of the Princes of the Blood, had previously been reserved for a dauphin of France; but no doubt the presence of the Pope would explain much of the ceremony.

Before his departure for Italy, Napoleon, in the warmth of the reconciliation, told Madame Mère that she might use the apartment in the Tuileries which had been occupied by the Pope during his stay in Paris. But, as Madame was not very well, and needed the air of the country, he placed at her disposal, at the Grand-Trianon, the so-called Dauphin wing of the palace, for her temporary occupancy. The first of May, Madame went to Versailles to look over her new apartment, and found fault with everything: there were not enough rooms, and the chambers were all too small and too low; she could not think of occupying anything less than the entire palace. The matter was referred to the Emperor, who replied that, "he had reserved for his own use that part of the palace not altered and furnished for Madame." Upon reflection, Napoleon realized that he had made a mistake, and decided that the best solution of the difficulty would be to give his mother a country home of her own. Accordingly he wrote her from Bologna on the 24 June:

Madame, — I have purchased for you the Château of Pont.[1] Send your intendant to look it over and take possession. It is my intention to grant 60,000 francs to furnish it. You thus become the owner of one of the most charming estates in France, which I believe you visited ten years ago. It is much more beautiful than Brienne.[2] I hope that you will see in what I have done a new proof of my desire to please you.

Your very affectionate son,

NAPOLEON [3]

For this château, which retained much of its former splendor, Napoleon paid 214,000 francs. But all of the furniture had been removed during the Revolution, and on his return the Emperor added one hundred thousand francs to the sixty thousand promised his mother, besides sending her thirteen pieces of tapestry of the Gobelins, which were worth even more. On the 25 August, Madame came in much state to take possession of her new property, and received a warm welcome from the people. She declared herself well satisfied with her "very happy journey."

In her memoirs, Madame d'Abrantès has left us an interesting sketch of the mother of Napoleon as she appeared at this time. She writes:

"At the time when she became Madame Mère, she was probably 53 or 54 years of age.[4] Her height was that most agreeable in women, about five feet four inches. . . . Her feet were the most remarkably small, and the most perfectly shaped that I have ever beheld. . . . At this period, her teeth were still perfect, and, like all the Bonapartes, she had a charming smile and a countenance full of vivacity and intelligence. Her eyes were small and very black; but their expression was never ill-natured, which cannot be said for some of her children.

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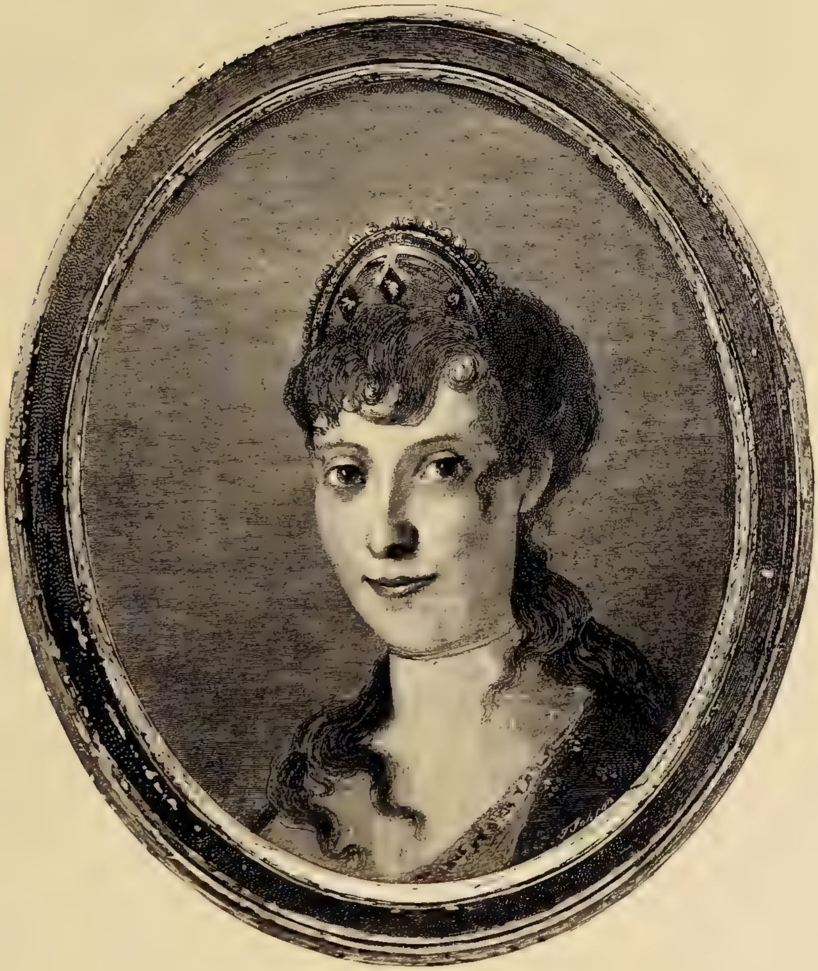
[1] Situated in the midst of charming scenery, on the banks of the Seine, between Provins and Troyes.

[2] A château in the neighborhood belonging to the Brienne family.

[3] Published by Baron Larrey, *Madame Mère*.

[4] As she was born in August 1750, she was nearly 55 at that time.



LETITIA BONAPARTE

"In her person, Madame was very fastidious, and always took care to dress in conformity with her age and station. She made in short a more dignified appearance than some princes and princesses I have seen, who stood sadly in need of their royal titles to distinguish them from the commonalty. Her timidity, and her lack of fluency in the French language, exposed her to great embarrassment in the situation she occupied, and she felt real nervousness in the presence of persons who were presented to her, as she dreaded the sarcastic remarks which they might make. She possessed great tact, and shrewdness of judgment: she took in at a single glance the dispositions of persons who approached her."

But Madame Mère was not long content with the position and the real advantages that the Emperor had given her. Her increased allowance, of 300,000 francs, seemed to her insufficient, even if doubled or tripled. As Protectress of the Sisters of Charity of Paris, she received many requests for donations, and should have given largely; but she gave nothing, because "her revenues for the past two years had not increased." She referred all requests to her brother, Fesch, the Grand Almoner. The Emperor, who knew these facts, and who still wished to believe that his mother would be more generous if she had a larger income, increased her allowance (1 January 1806) to 480,000 francs; but she was still dissatisfied.

Madame was wounded again when, on the 30 March, there was published the decree fixing the status of the members of the Imperial Family. As thus constituted, the Family comprised only: (1) the princes in the order of heredity; (2) the princesses sisters of the Emperor, their husbands, and their children; (3) the adopted children of the Emperor and their legitimate descendants. The name of Madame nowhere appeared: no title, and no dignity, was given her. Joseph was King of Naples; Pauline, Princess of Guastalla; Caroline, Grand Duchess of Berg; but Madame received nothing. At this time, Madame had a real grievance in the matter of the position given at Court to the little Stéphanie de Beauharnais, whom the Emperor had adopted. Up to that time, on all occasions of ceremony, Madame had occupied the seat at the right of the Emperor, before the princes; the Empress sitting at the left, before the princesses in the order of their rank. Now, Madame had to cede her place to this girl of sixteen.

The Emperor, seeing that his mother was nervous, uneasy, and even suffering, begged her to let him know what he could do to be agreeable to her. This furnished Madame with a good excuse to set forth her demands, and they are given at great length in her letter to Napoleon, under date of the 6 May 1806.[5]

In this communication there is not a line which sounds like the mother of Napoleon, and the letter was evidently the work of her brother and her *entourage*. In a word, she demanded nothing less than a revenue of at least a million, inscribed by a *sénatus-consulte* — for Napoleon might die — upon the Ledger of the Public Debt, in the name of the Empress-Mother!

This demand profoundly irritated the Emperor, but he made no reply, and entered into no discussion, as he certainly would have done in any other case. However, he made her a present (14 August) of 600,000 francs, and sent her a dozen more pieces of the Gobelins. While not refusing to increase her income, he said that he considered the present moment inopportune; he also gave her to understand that her allowance must come from the Civil List; and that there would be no recognition of a position which would place her in the first rank of the Imperial Family, above the Emperor himself. Her title would continue to be one of courtesy only, not recognized by any public act.

It was perhaps to make up in part for his refusal of his mother's demands that Napoleon at this time accorded to Fesch unexpected favors, which were wholly unwarranted. Owing to the inaptitude or inexperience of Fesch, his embassy to Rome had not been a success, and he was replaced (April 1806) by M. Alquier, formerly minister to Naples. The Emperor explained the recall of Fesch by writing the Pope that, "the good of his service and the interests of the churches of his States demanded that the cardinal reside for a time in France in order to exercise the important functions of Grand Almoner of the Empire."

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[5] See 3 Masson, 346–349, where her letter is quoted nearly in full.

In order to prove, in the face of Europe, that the recall was not a mark of disfavor, Napoleon arranged with Dalberg, the Archchancellor of the German Empire, to have Fesch named as his coadjutor. This treaty was signed at Ratisbon on the 6 May, and ten days later the Emperor notified Fesch, at the same time, of his recall and his promotion. "This is still a secret," he wrote, "but within a month it will be an affair arranged; thus you will find yourself called to a new career, for the dignity of Primate of Germany places you at the head of the College of Electors."

While Fesch was on his way to Lyon, the question of the coadjutorship was being discussed at Ratisbon. At the session of the Diet on the 28 May the Archchancellor announced that he had communicated his resolution to the Emperor of Germany, who would certainly give his consent, and had asked the Pope to confirm the nomination of Fesch. But Napoleon did not await the consent of the Emperor, or the approval of the Pope, before announcing to the Senate the promotion of his uncle.

In his new position, Fesch would govern a State of 25,000 square miles, with a population of 82,000 souls, and a revenue of a million florins; his jurisdiction would cover the ancient ecclesiastical provinces of Mayence, Cologne, Trèves, and Salzburg; the temporal sovereignty of Ratisbon, and of the Imperial city of Wetzlar, with all the chapters, abbeys and convents depending on same.

The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine (12 July), and the dissolution of the German Empire, made unnecessary the consent of the Emperor; and, in spite of the protests of the Cabinet of Vienna, the Pope, on the 21 October, issued the bulls authorizing the cardinal to accept the coadjutorship, and, pending the decease of Dalberg, to possess at the same time the two sees of Lyon and of Ratisbon.

Upon his return from Rome, Fesch was another man. He became the most ardent protector of the Fathers of the Faith, or the Jesuits under another name; and his aim seems to have been to evangelize the Empire. The doctrines which he disseminated were opposed to the traditional policy of the Church of France, as adopted by the First Consul, and recognized by the Pope in the Concordat. He was in fact in rebellion against both Church and State, and the centre of a conspiracy whose threads extended to every department in France.[6]

Lucien's liaison with Madame Jouberthou had broken the long intimacy between Élisa and her favorite brother, whose tastes, whose ambitions, and even whose life, she had shared since their earliest days; and she drew nearer to Napoleon, who had it in his power to satisfy her desires. Unlike her sister Pauline, she sought outside of France the honors and the position which she felt that she could never look for at home. In the Imperial Court, she could never mount higher than the fifth or sixth rank. She was obliged to give the *pas* to Joséphine, to Julie, to Hortense, to the wife of Jérôme, if he yielded to the Emperor's wishes, and to her mother. The salon which she tried to maintain in her new home, Rue de Grenelle, was not frequented: even Fontanes had abandoned her, and no longer appeared except on special occasions.

Élisa, therefore, preferred to leave Paris, provided she could have a proper establishment; and the Emperor, for his part, had no desire to retain his eldest sister at his Court. Of late, he had accorded her certain favors, with a view of detaching her from Lucien, but there never had been any bond of sympathy between them. He disliked her character and her manners: her literary and artistic pretensions. He knew her dislike of Joséphine, and feared that her salon might become, as that of Lucien had been, a centre of opposition.

Her husband, Bacciochi, was also impossible: he had failed in every position in which he had been tried. In the Senate, through his haughty manners, he had rendered himself insupportable to his colleagues. Borghèse, Murat, — even Eugène, — were princes, and Élisa aspired to a similar title for her husband. She accordingly asked her brother to confer upon her a fief of the Empire, which was at that moment at his disposition, and which would carry with it the rank she coveted.

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[6] *Cf.* 3 Masson, 361–364.

Enclosed within the province of Pisa, then a part of the Kingdom of Etruria, was the little principality of Piombino, ceded to France a few years before by the Court of Naples, which claimed jurisdiction over it. These rights, which were very doubtful, were subject, in any case, to the sovereignty of the Emperor of Germany, King of the Romans, the real suzerain. But all this made little difference to Napoleon, who claimed "the right to dispose at his pleasure of the principality of Piombino, and of all that had been ceded him in the island of Elba." By a decree of the 8 fructidor an X (26 August 1802) he had united the island of Elba to the territory of the Republic, leaving the fate of Piombino for the moment undecided. It was not until eleven months later (15 July 1803) that, by a simple order of the general-in-chief, Murat, the union of the State of Piombino to France was *decreed*. Cambis, named by Murat as administrator-general, was replaced in September 1804 by Napoleon's old commander, Carteaux, who took the title of "commander of the State of Piombino for His Majesty the Emperor of the French." But the rule of Carteaux proved very unsatisfactory to the Emperor, who felt that the government should be in strong hands. Accordingly he assigned the domain to his sister Élisa. "This donation," he said to the Senate, "is not due to a personal tenderness, but is in conformity with sound politics, the state of our crown, and the interests of our peoples."

The decree which accompanied this message, of the 28 March 1805, throws a clear light upon the ideas and plans of Napoleon. It contained, says M. Masson, the germ of the whole Imperial system. Menacing to Europe, it revealed to France intentions wholly unexpected: [7]

ARTICLE I. — The Emperor Napoleon cedes, and gives in full ownership, the Principality of Piombino to the Princesse Élisa, his sister.

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[7] See 3 Masson, 59.

ARTICLE II. — The government of this State, and the property of the Domain of the Prince, are hereditary in the descendants of the Princesse, and are perpetuated in the eldest branch, cadets and females having right only to a proper revenue.

ARTICLE III. — At each succession, the Prince of Piombino cannot succeed unless he has received the investiture of the Emperor of the French.

By this donation, Napoleon reëstablished, in fact and in law, the feudal régime, abolished by the Revolution: that régime, which, on two recent occasions, the day of the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honor and the day of the Coronation, he had solemnly sworn to proscribe, promising "to combat by all the means that justice, reason, and the laws authorize, every undertaking tending to reëstablish it."

Nor was this all: in direct violation of two articles of the Code which bore his name, Napoleon reëstablished, among the children of his sister, the right of primogeniture, and instituted a perpetual succession.

Although the principality was ceded exclusively to Élisa, and she alone was to administer the State, her husband took the "name and title of Prince of Piombino," and enjoyed "the name and prerogatives of a French prince." But this was only a matter of courtesy, of family etiquette: he received no donation, and no powers. In short, Bacciochi was the subordinate of his wife — "according to a formula which may be English, Spanish, or Portuguese, but which never has been French." [8]

In order to hasten the happy moment when Élisa should depart to reign over her new State, Napoleon was most generous in his financial arrangements. Besides the revenues of Piombino, which amounted to nearly 300,000 francs, Élisa received her regular allowance of 120,000, and two extra donations, totalling 450,000; while Bacciochi received two presents, amounting to over 50,000 francs — a grand total for the family in excess of 900,000 francs.

On the 19 April 1805, Élisa set out with her entire household.

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[8] 3 Masson, 62.

She saw the Emperor at Turin, and followed him to Milan, where she remained, under pretext of illness, while the prince went with great pomp and ceremony to take possession of his new State. In fact, Élisa was far from satisfied with her little principality of 20,000 souls, and was hoping to obtain a sovereignty more worthy of her superior talents. She was not ignorant of the fact that Salicetti, the old friend of her family, was working at Lucca to obtain a decree from the Assembly, which was finally passed on the 4 June, praying the Emperor to give them a new constitution, with a prince of his family to reign over them. On the 24 June, at Bologna, Napoleon received the delegation from Lucca, and announced his decision. He stated that, "he would meet their wishes, and would confide their government to a person who was dear to him by the ties of blood." The same day, Bacciochi was given the sovereignty of Lucca, with the title of Prince of Lucca and of Piombino, and the qualification of *Altesse Sérénissime*. Élisa, therefore, was to reign over 130,000 subjects: over a country distinguished for its richness and its history, and interesting above all, in her eyes, from its ancient relations with Corsica — "by that glory without precedent for a Corsican to reign over the Luccans."[9]

The good people of Lucca, in calling to the throne Félix the First, had proposed that the government should be confided to him, and only in case of his death to Her Imperial Highness, the Princesse Élisa. But they had reckoned without their host. Félix could play his violin, mount his horse, appear on ceremonial occasions as the first gentleman of the Court of his august spouse, and sign official acts, but it was Élisa who governed in fact. Her dream was realized: she was a sovereign! As ruler of Piombino and Lucca, her defects, as well as her good qualities, were to appear in full light: more than any other member of the family she resembled her great brother.

Leaving Genoa on the 12 July 1805, Élisa and Félix arrived two days later at the gates of Lucca, where they were received by a guard of honor, furnished by the Emperor. The cortège then proceeded to the cathedral, where the new sovereigns were formally installed in office.

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[9] 3 Masson, 65.

At first, everything pleased Élisa at Lucca: the city, the climate, the people, and especially her Court. She had a Civil List of 300,000 francs, a city palace, and a country château, to which was attached an estate bringing in a revenue of 100,000 francs. "I do not find here the sweetness of intimacy," she wrote Lucien; "but, in my position, I feel that it is necessary to live for glory and for others, and pay little attention to one's affections." As for glory, she had it in full measure: her Court, formed on the model of that of the Tuileries, was nearly as numerous. In a paper of two hundred and fifty-three articles, Élisa erected a barrier of etiquette, in which the rules were more minute and even more rigorous than those of the Tuileries. Although organized with less care, and not so well turned out, her domestic service was not less numerous than that of her Imperial brother.

The results of Élisa's activity and enterprise were soon seen in every direction. Roads were built; marshes were drained; the silk industry was introduced; vexatious taxes were abolished; the police were reorganized; the prisons reformed; inoculation prescribed.

Nor did Élisa neglect her own interests. Finding her revenues too small, with the excellent business ability she possessed, like all the family, she proceeded to develop the resources of the country. She acquired an alum mine, in Piombino; and also established forges there, for which she obtained the ore from Elba. But her most successful commercial enterprise was the development of the long-abandoned marble quarries of Carrara. Through her shrewdness, this enterprise quickly yielded the most gratifying returns. The first blocks quarried were used in sculpturing busts of the Emperor, after a plaster model made by Canova, and soon orders for copies came pouring in from every part of the Empire. The demand continued to increase, and Carrara became a most profitable source of revenue. Moreover, the school which she founded in connection with the quarry became the most celebrated in Europe, and maintained its reputation for many years after her death. She also patronized literature and the arts, founded schools and academies, and had her own troupe of musicians.

On the 3 June 1806, Élisa gave birth to a daughter, at her summer residence, Marlia. She was disappointed that it was not a son, but did her best to correct this misfortune by giving the child the masculine name of Napoléone.[10]

Élisa and her husband usually passed the late autumn and the winter at Lucca, but resided the rest of the year at Marlia. She spent large sums in rebuilding this château, which was transformed from an ugly little castle, standing in a small park, into a splendid country-mansion, surrounded by French and English gardens; while the park was tripled in extent, by the purchase of adjoining estates, and stocked with deer, merino-sheep, and other animals.

But the cares of State, and business enterprises, by no means occupied all the time of Élisa, and some of her hours were devoted to gallantry. Her first lover was her husband's secretary, Lespérut, who also filled the rôle of financial and political adviser. His reign, however, was brief, as the Emperor sent him, at the end of eighteen months, to Silesia, as administrator of that province. His successor was a handsome young Italian, named Cenami, who had charming manners, and "the physique of a tenor." From being a simple equerry, he was rapidly promoted to the post of Grand Equerry, and made Director-General of Public Instruction. Élisa obtained for him, from the Emperor, the Golden Eagle of the Légion; he received a pension of 40,000 francs, and other donations: soon he was one of the richest men in Lucca.

Élisa, in the past, had never taken any special pains to gain her brother's regard, and she had never been a favorite with him. But she now adopted an entirely different course, and soon won his esteem. She took no steps without first consulting the Emperor, writing him brief, dry business-like letters, without useless verbiage, which Napoleon detested. She also corresponded with Talleyrand, Fouché, and the other ministers, asking their advice; and made friends and allies in every quarter.

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[10] In 1825, she married Comte Camerata, and had a son who committed suicide in 1853. As the Princesse Bacciochi, she was well known at the Court of the Tuileries during the Second Empire.

Gradually, Napoleon's opinion of his eldest sister began to change: if he had no more affection for her, he felt much greater respect. He was heard to declare that "the best of his ministers was the Princess of Lucca." He wrote her as he wrote the men who occupied the highest place in his confidence; and granted most of her requests. On one occasion, we find Élisa writing him:

"LÉGION D'HONNEUR.—I have requested Your Majesty to place at my disposal six decorations of the Légion d'honneur or of the Couronne de fer for my ministers and grand officers. The awards and honors accorded to merit are the most powerful means of encouragement. I attach great importance to this proof of Your Majesty's confidence."

She obtained, not six ordinary crosses, but ten of the Golden Eagles[11] of the Légion—" more than all the Napoleonic kings together secured for their subjects of Naples, Berg, Holland, Westphalia, and Spain!"[12]

The most unfortunate measure of Élisa's administration was the extension of the Concordat to her principality, which involved the suppression of all the religious houses in Lucca and Piombino, and the confiscation of their revenues, estimated at over one million francs, to the benefit of the State. She was led to this act by the necessity of having more funds to meet the extravagant costs of her Court. At first, Napoleon was strongly opposed to this step, which was not only a flagrant violation of the constitution he had given to Lucca, but could not fail to alienate the devout Catholics of his sister's principality. At length, Élisa obtained his reluctant consent to take some "preparatory measures for the reduction of the convents and the number of their inmates." The Pope naturally protested; but, step by step, the Emperor became involved in this enterprise, from which Élisa reaped all the benefits, while Napoleon received most of the odium.[13]

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[11] As originally constituted in 1802, the Légion d'honneur comprised four classes: chevaliers, officiers, commandants (now commandeurs), and grands-officiers; but by a decree of the 30 January 1805, Napoleon instituted a fifth degree, called grand-aigle (now grand-croix), the name of which he changed, by a later decree of the 19 July, to grand-cordon. The grand-aigle, or aigle d'or, was given only to the princes Joseph and Louis, to most of the marshals, admirals, cardinals, ministers, and grand dignitaries of the Imperial Court. It is therefore remarkable that Napoleon should have placed at the disposition of his sister no less than ten of these coveted decorations. (See Jules Martin, *Les décorations françaises,* 6–11.)

[12] 3 Masson, 228.

Pauline, for her part, had no desire for principalities or kingdoms outside of France: she was content to be a *real* princess, and queen of her salon at Paris. The 240,000 francs allowed her by the Emperor for the year 1805 enabled her to live comfortably, and she troubled her head little over the fact that she had disbursed on account of the purchase price of her hôtel only the 100,000 francs advanced her by Joseph at the time she bought it, and 240,000 additional, borrowed of her sister Élisa the following year (June 1804). The loan from Élisa was the proceeds of a present from the Emperor, who directed that Pauline should give her sister a mortgage on the house, by way of security. What pleased Pauline most of all, however, in the delicate state of her health, was the assurance from Napoleon that she need not return to Rome; as a further mark of his favor, also, on the 27 March 1805, by a formal decree, he conferred upon the prince the rights of French citizenship.

The health of Pauline at this time was really wretched, and the whole family were much worried over her condition. As her physicians prescribed country air, on the 14 June she installed herself, during the absence of the Emperor, in the ground-floor apartment at Saint-Cloud. But, as she found the air too fresh, and the rooms uncomfortable, she moved in a few days to the Petit-Trianon, at Versailles. Here, on the 21 July, she received an unexpected visit from the Emperor, who had just returned from Italy. In his rapid manner, he made a thorough inspection of the two palaces, which had been repaired and refurnished since the first of the year. Then he had a talk with his sister, who begged him to send away Borghèse, whose presence had become insupportable to her. Napoleon granted her request, and by a letter which, for the sake of appearances, he antedated one day, he announced to Bessières that "he had named M. Borghèse major in the Grenadiers à cheval." Two days later, another letter to Bessières: "You will order Prince Borghèse, chef d'escadron of the Grenadiers à cheval of my Guard, to proceed to Boulogne. He should send his horses to the army to-morrow." To encourage Borghèse in his new career, the Emperor, who had given him the grand-aigle of the Légion in February, now sent him one of the decorations of the Toison d'or recently received from the King of Spain. No doubt the prince was proud to display these magnificent decorations on his new uniform, but he would have much preferred to remain at Paris!

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[13] It is a remarkable coincidence that the first and the third Napoleon should both have lost much of their early popularity through quarrels with the Papacy.

The visit of the Emperor had a marvellous effect on the health and the spirits of Pauline: she felt better every day. She began to give small parties, made promenades in the neighborhood, and had the great fountains of Versailles play for the benefit of herself and her guests. She was so enchanted with the Trianon that she passed the entire season there, and did not return to Paris until late in the autumn. Then, for the first time, she felt well enough to open her salons, and entertain on a large scale, "receiving with that grace which was natural to her, and which made her generally admired."

From Boulogne, Borghèse went with the Grand Army to Germany, for the brilliant campaign of Austerlitz. He did not particularly distinguish himself, but returned with the grade of colonel. His new regiment, the 1st Carbineers, was stationed at Lunéville, which was too far from Paris to suit him. He therefore asked to be transferred to Versailles, and his request was granted — much to the disgust of Pauline. She had formed such an antipathy for her husband, that she could no longer endure him. Nevertheless, it was necessary for her to appear with him at all the entertainments of the Court, and herself to give dances, by order of the Emperor, at which her husband was present. Another cause of ennui to Pauline at this time was the marked partiality shown by the Emperor for the little Beauharnais girl, whom he adopted, and gave precedence at Court over his sisters, and even his mother. But she had two consolations: Borghèse had left for Italy, on the 9 March, and on the 30th the Emperor bestowed upon her the principality of Guastalla.

The title of princesse and duchesse of Guastalla sounded well in the ears of Pauline; but, where was Guastalla? She had never heard of the place. She was much disappointed when she learned that her new domain was only some ten square kilomètres in dimensions, and possessed hardly ten thousand inhabitants. It was only a kingdom of comic opera!

After receiving with her usual grace the compliments of the Senate upon her new dignity, Pauline began to wonder how she could gain some advantage from her present. On this occasion she showed a good head for affairs: she represented to the Emperor that Guastalla should naturally form a part of the Kingdom of Italy, and arranged, while keeping the titles and allodial rights, to sell him the property for six million francs — "the proceeds to be invested in France in a domain of the same value." In this matter, however, Napoleon decidedly took advantage of his sister, for he subsequently induced her to accept in lieu of the capital sum an annual payment of 400,000 francs, which, with 50,000 from the allodial rights, brought her total revenues from the principality up to 450,000 francs. On the other hand, she had to give up her former allowance, together with the annual *gratifications* which she had been in the habit of receiving, and which had amounted in the last fifteen months to over 900,000 francs: on the whole, therefore, she lost by the bargain.[14]

At the end of April, Borghèse returned from Rome, and had several stormy scenes with his wife, occasioned by the frequent visits which she was receiving from a certain Comte de L . . . , about whose identity we have no further information. Borghèse then sought consolation in the society of more complaisante beauties, and Pauline partook herself to the Petit-Trianon, where she resumed her gay life of the previous summer.

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[14] See 3 Masson, 336.

In July, she set out for Plombières, accompanied by nearly all the members of her household. Her arrival created no small sensation among the visitors to that fashionable watering-place.

At Plombières, Pauline's health improved wonderfully, either from the beneficial effects of the waters, or from the presence of a new admirer, who seems to have made a great impression on her too susceptible heart. The name of the happy individual, who was to inspire in Pauline the nearest approach to a great passion that she was capable of entertaining, was Comte Louis de Forbin. He was a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of Provence, and was at this time about twenty-nine years of age, or three years older than Pauline. His family had been ruined by the Revolution, and his father and uncle had been killed at the siege of Lyon. Possessed of some little artistic talent, he studied painting, and exhibited at the Salon of 1796. From that time on, he was usually represented by one or more paintings, chiefly historical subjects. His works, although rather mediocre, found a ready sale; but he owed his success, less to his artistic skill, than to his great popularity in society.

Writing of him many years later, Madame d'Abrantès says that, among the men who figured at that time, " M. de Forbin was particularly distinguished. His face was handsome, his figure exceptionally fine, and even his conversation was remarkable for grace and elegance. How envy and jealousy have sought to rob him of his deserts! But that has not prevented his abilities being transcendent in painting, in poetry, and in literature, and from making him the most delightful of drawing-room companions, and the most agreeable to listen to."[15]

As his income was wholly inadequate for a man of his extravagant tastes, in 1799 Forbin married a Mlle. de Dortour, who possessed a large fortune, and graciously allowed the lady to pay

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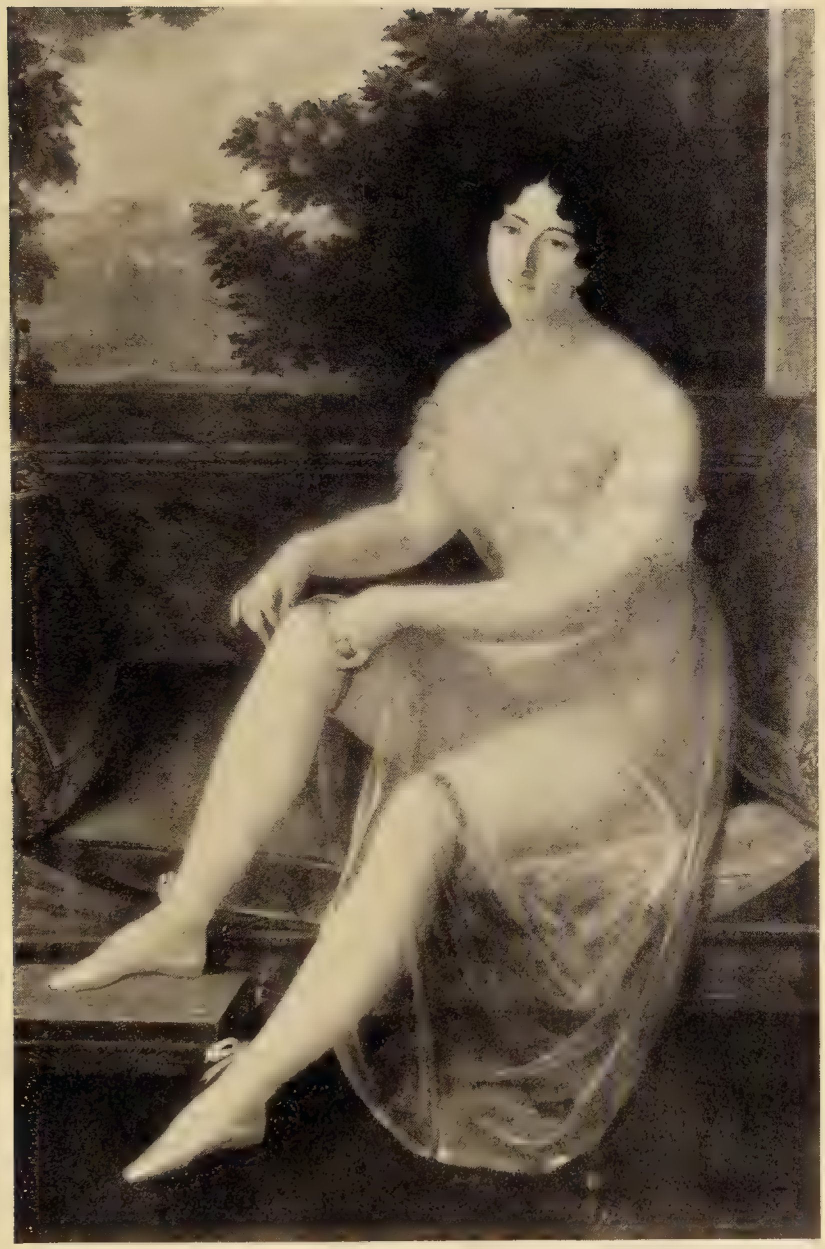
[15] Abrantès, *Mémoires*.



PAULINE BONAPARTE

his numerous debts. But matrimony did not prevent the comte from continuing his flirtations, and at the end of three years they separated. As he no longer had any one to pay his bills, at the time he met Pauline he was on the verge of bankruptcy.

He begged permission to paint the portrait of Her Imperial Highness, and Pauline assented. The sittings were frequent and protracted, and before the portrait was finished the heart of Pauline was won. She had never before met a man who combined with the form and features of a Greek statue, the culture of the scholar, the refined tastes of the artist, the sensibility of the poet, the assurance of a man of the world, and the manners of the Ancien Régime.

Pauline returned to Paris about the 10 September, just in time to see her husband, who was leaving with the Emperor for the campaign against Prussia. She had asked Louis, who was in Holland, to lend her Saint-Leu, and here she installed herself the first week in October, with Forbin whom she had recently appointed her chamberlain. She made no attempt to conceal her infatuation; and three months later every one remarked on "the elegant equipage of the chamberlain, with its handsome white horses, and was astonished that his debts were at last paid."

Since the scene at Saint-Cloud, in May 1804, which had won her the title of Imperial Highness, Caroline had entirely changed her methods, and done everything in her power to gain the favor of the Emperor. She acted on the baser side of his character, flattering his tastes and serving his caprices. In his affair with Madame Duchâtel,[16] she played the contemptible rôle of a go-between. This Madame Duchâtel was a very beautiful and very charming young woman of twenty years, married to a prominent official, who was thirty years her senior. Her liaison with Napoleon is supposed to have begun about the end of 1803, and to have lasted nearly two years: it certainly was not renewed after the Emperor's return from the campaign of Austerlitz. Madame Duchâtel always retained a high place in the esteem of Napoleon, who conferred upon her many favors and honors. In his days of misfortune, she remained ever faithful and devoted. She appeared at his Court during the Hundred Days, and on the 26 June 1815, when he was on the point of leaving for his final exile, she came to Malmaison to bring to the dethroned Emperor the supreme tribute of her respectful attachment and her unalterable devotion.

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[16] Her name is concealed by Masson (*Napoléon et les femmes,* 137–150); also by Madame de Rémusat (2 *Mémoires,* 46); but is revealed by Turquan (*L'Impératrice Joséphine,* 48–64). *Cf.* also Abrantès, 5 *Mémoires,* 107, 170, 175; and 3 *Salons de Paris,* 354.

Murat, for his part, fulfilled every kind of a mission, and was active on all occasions. The day of the Coronation, he led the cavalry of the escort; at the Cathedral, he immediately preceded the Emperor, bearing the crown upon a cushion; he was in charge of all the arrangements for the fête given by the marshals to Joséphine at the Opéra.

This campaign, so adroitly conducted under the direction of Caroline, did not fail to bear its fruits. In the space of a single month (February 1805), Murat was named Chief of the Twelfth Cohort of the Légion, grand-aigle, grand-admiral, prince of the Empire, and grand dignitary, with a seat in the Senate.

Aside from these honors, the emoluments were not to be disdained: 20,000 francs as grand-aigle, 36,000 as senator, 333,000 as grand-admiral, 40,000 as marshal, 60,000 as governor of Paris, with an allowance of 181,000 in addition for expenses. With Caroline's allowance of 240,000 francs, the Murats were receiving over 900,000 francs from the State, and fully 500,000 more from gifts, and other benefits more or less legitimate.

After the birth of her daughter, Louise-Julie-Caroline, at the Hôtel Thélusson, on the 22 March 1805, Napoleon gave his sister as a *présent de relevailles* the Élysée, the most sumptuous palace in Paris. For this former residence of Madame de Pompadour, which had been confiscated during the Revolution, the Emperor paid in all nearly a million francs. But, as there were several unexpired leases on the property, Caroline was not able to secure possession for over a year.

On his return from Italy, Napoleon received a warm welcome from Caroline, who was fresher and prettier than ever, after her confinement. She wished to give him a fête at her country estate, which she had greatly enlarged, building two wings on the house, and augmenting the park by over a dozen parcels, for each of which she paid from fifty to seventy thousand francs. Napoleon accepted, but found himself too busy to keep the engagement. A little later, she followed him to Boulogne, under the pretext of joining her husband. There was therefore quite a family reunion at the camp: Napoleon, Joseph, Louis and Hortense, Borghèse, Caroline and Murat, were all there at the same time.

In all these attentions to her brother, the ambitious Caroline had an end in view. Élisa reigned over Piombino and Lucca, and the youngest sister of the Emperor aspired to a settlement equally desirable. Her opportunity came after the Austrian campaign, when Napoleon acquired by cessions from Prussia and Bavaria the duchies of Cleves and Berg. He decided to make these two States the nucleus of an amalgamation of territories in Southern Germany, which should constitute a counterweight to the power of Prussia in the North. The last of January, he outlined his plan to Talleyrand, who lost no time in notifying Caroline, with whom he was on very friendly terms. What better could she hope for? Here was a territory of 300,000 inhabitants, only ninety leagues from Paris; two capital cities, Wesel and Düsseldorf, with handsome châteaux; satisfactory revenues; and no family neighbors, either Bonaparte or Beauharnais.

Caroline at once began a new campaign, to secure this prize. Joséphine, who no longer had any illusions regarding her dear sister-in-law, was only too anxious, for many reasons, to get the Murats away from Paris; Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was Caroline's ally; and by flattery and delicate attentions, she attached to her interests Maret and Fouché. It only remained to secure the approval of the Emperor. As she had drawn good profits from her complaisance in the case of Madame Duchâtel, she now secured even greater by the protection which she gave to Éléonore Dénuelle,[17] her companion at the school of Madame Campan, and now one of her readers.

On the 9 March 1806, Napoleon gave orders to Murat to take possession of Wesel and Düsseldorf; and on the 15th, by a solemn decree, he conferred on "his dearly-beloved brother-in-law, Joachim Murat," the two duchies, with the quality of Duke of Cleves and of Berg.

Murat had scarcely taken possession of his States before he began to attempt annexations. The last of March his troops occupied the districts of Essen and Werden, which Prussia claimed had not been comprised in the cession of Cleves. This caused a feeling of irritation on the part of Frederick-William which it took three months of diplomatic negotiations to remove, and even then the remembrance of the offense rankled in the mind of the King.

Napoleon soon had additional cause to regret the elevation of his brother-in-law, whose greed and arrogance knew no bounds. Murat quarrelled with the Duke of Nassau, and with the King of Holland. Finally, he came almost to swords' points with Napoleon himself, who wished to unite Wesel to France, "since it could belong only to a great Power." Murat exclaimed indignantly: "The Emperor has no right to take that place away from me; I did not receive it from him: it was a treaty with the King of Prussia that gave it to me." He even went so far as to write Napoleon that, rather than yield Wesel, he would shut himself up in the city, and stand a siege if necessary. Napoleon replied that such ingratitude made him blush.[18]

At Paris, Caroline wearied the Emperor with her constant complaints over the small territory assigned them, and her pleas that he should approve of the high-handed acts of Murat. Finally, Napoleon became so enraged that the storm broke: he told Caroline plainly that, if she did not stop her intrigues, he would send her to join her husband in Germany, and would not permit her to return to France. This menace, for the moment, was effectual. But, as usual, the wrath of Napoleon was short-lived. When he organized the Confederation of the Rhine (12 July), the gains of Murat were immense: his territory was increased from 168 to 338 square leagues, and his subjects, from 310,000 to 590,000. In addition, Murat was given the title of Grand-Duke, with all the honors attached to the royal dignity, and a seat in the College of Kings, immediately after the Grand-Duke of Baden.

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[17] She was the mother of Napoleon's first child, Léon, born at Paris 13 December 1806. (See Masson, *Napoléon et les femmes,* 165–176.)

[18] Murat's course at this time was probably the principal reason for the Emperor's refusal later to give him the crown of Spain.

During the first six months of his sovereignty, Murat succeeded in embroiling himself with all his neighbors, and strained almost to the breaking point the tense situation with Prussia. Although his possessions had been doubled by the Emperor, he endeavored to augment them further, and, in so doing, he violated treaties, provoked hostilities, and made war inevitable. He posed in the face of the Emperor as a rival, if not an adversary; defied Napoleon's orders, and paid no attention to his advice. Napoleon's feelings are clearly shown in his letter of the 15 September 1806 to Louis. " Prince Murat," he wrote, " is bent on having his own way, and commits only acts of folly." But, on account of their relationship, and because he had need of the services of Murat to command the cavalry in the coming campaign, Napoleon did not take any steps seriously to restrain him.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

JULY 1805 — NOVEMBER 1807

KING JEROME

Jérôme's Naval Career — Expedition to Algiers — In Command of the *Vétéran* — Plans for His Marriage — His Long Cruise — He Captures an English Convoy — Returns to France — Is Made an Imperial Highness — His Marriage Contract Signed — His Appanage as French Prince — His Household — His Marriage Postponed — The Patterson Union Dissolved — His Insignificant Rôle during the Campaign — His Flattery of Napoleon — Created King of Westphalia — His Wonderful Coat of Arms — Sketch of His Fiancée — The Marriage at Stuttgart — Portrait of Jérôme — Catherine's Reception at the Tuileries — Her Letter to Her Father — The Civil Marriage at Paris — Napoleon at Thirty-eight — The Religious Ceremony — Changed Attitude of the Pope — The Honeymoon — Sojourn at Fontainebleau — Napoleon's Kindness to Catherine — Departure of the New Sovereigns for Westphalia

ON HIS arrival at Genoa from Milan, the first of July 1805, Napoleon found Jérôme there, and put him in command of a small squadron, composed of three frigates and two brigs, with orders to go to Algiers and release the French and Italian prisoners detained in the hulks. As usual, Jérôme was having a very gay time at Genoa, where he had made many new friends, and he was in no haste to leave. He therefore did not press the fitting-out of his vessels, and it was a month later (7 August) before he was ready to set sail. Then he was forced by unfavorable winds to return to Toulon, where he remained several days. He finally appeared before Algiers on the 18 August, and secured the release of 231 prisoners, whom the Dey gave up in consideration of a payment of 450,000 francs, of which no mention, however, was made in the official report. On the last day of August, Jérôme returned in triumph to Genoa, where he was greeted as a hero, with salvos of artillery and triumphal arches. A *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral; a banquet and a ball were give in his honor, and the whole city was illuminated. On the 11 September, Decrès, the Minister of the Marine, wrote him: "All Europe has its eyes on you, and particularly France, and His Majesty's Navy."

On the 23 September, the Emperor issued orders for the formation, under Rear-Admiral Willaumez, of a fleet of six vessels and two frigates, mounting 450 guns, "to attack the enemy's commerce at all points." The squadron was first to visit Cape Good Hope; then to cruise around Saint Helena; cross to Martinique; and finally to sail to the North, in order to interrupt the commerce between England and America.

Although Jérôme was only a junior captain, he was placed in command of the *Vétéran,* a vessel of 74 guns. But the young man had no longing for a cruise of fourteen months, and he announced to Joseph his intention of joining the Emperor in Germany. From this plan he was finally dissuaded by Decrès, who held out to him the prospect of his being created grand-admiral. The last of October, Jérôme finally decided to set out for Brest to join his vessel; but he could not leave Paris because "he had no money" ; he must have 40,000 francs, if they wanted him to go. Nevertheless, in addition to his annual allowance of 150,000 francs, and his pay, he had received from the Emperor that summer two presents amounting to 191,000 francs! Joseph accordingly advanced the 40,000 francs, and Jérôme left Paris, but was back again in two days. Pressed by Decrès to rejoin his post, he once more announced his departure, for the 18 November, but this time he needed 60,000 francs. Again Joseph advanced the sum, which he immediately reclaimed of the Emperor. By this time, Napoleon's patience was exhausted, and he wrote Joseph from Vienna (13 December): "I am not willing to give Jérôme anything in addition to his allowance. It is more than enough for him, and more considerable than that of any prince in Europe. . . . It is inconceivable what that young man costs me, only to give me annoyance, and to be of no use in my system."

At last Jérôme condescended to go to Brest, where he was received with royal honors, which increased Napoleon's ill-humor. On the 2 December he wrote Decrès: "I hold you responsible for the manner in which he is treated. He must be kept rigorously in his place." The minister transmitted these orders faithfully to the admiral, but Jérôme paid not the slightest attention to commands or admonitions. He seemed to believe that he commanded the fleet. From Nantes (21 November) he wrote his wife: "I have arrived in this city, on my way to Brest, *to take command of a squadron.*"

Every one knew that Jérôme's naval service was only a comedy, and that more was to be gained in flattering, than in censuring him. Therefore, no one, not even Joseph, ventured to call him to account.

On his arrival at Munich, the 31 December, the Emperor wrote Joseph: "I have demanded a princess for Jérôme. As you have seen him last, let me know whether I can count on this young man doing what I desire." Joseph replied: "He seemed to me disposed to do everything possible to be agreeable to you; he has often said so to me. Nevertheless, I fear to take any responsibility in the matter, lest I should involuntarily lead Your Majesty into error."

On the 13 December, Jérôme had finally started on this cruise which was expected to last fourteen months, that is to say, until March 1807. During this period, Napoleon hoped to bring about the annulment of Jérôme's marriage; and, in the meantime he did not hesitate to conclude negotiations for the marriage to Catherine of Würtemberg of this brother, whom he had not even consulted on the subject, and of whose consent he was not at all assured.

On the *Vétéran,* Jérôme had as his second in command his former chief, Halgan, who was a capable navigator. He was accompanied also by his old lieutenant, Meyronnet; and by a kind of civil staff, at the head of which was the indispensable Lecamus.

Before the fleet had been at sea three days, Admiral Willaumez was completely subservient to Jérôme, without whose advice, or rather orders, he did not venture to take any action. On the first day of the year, in his order of the day, the admiral said: " From to-day, M. Jérôme Bonaparte, the brother of His Majesty, is the first of the captains of vessels, and consequently he takes the command of the second division."

On the 17 February, when within forty-five leagues of Cape Good Hope, an English corvette was captured, and it was learned that the British were in possession of the Dutch colony at the Cape. Willaumez accordingly decided to sail for Brazil, where the fleet arrived on the 3 April. After a stay of nearly three weeks, the squadron proceeded to Cayenne, where it remained from the 15 to the 28 May. The next stop was to be at Martinique; but Jérôme, without waiting for the other vessels, ordered the *Vétéran* to set sail for Fort-de-France, where he dropped anchor on the 5 June. For three weeks, Willaumez, with the rest of the fleet, searched the high-seas for the brother of the Emperor, whom the British had sworn to capture. On the 24th, he arrived, almost in despair, at Fort-de-France, where he found Jérôme amusing himself, without the slightest compunctions for all the trouble and anxiety he had caused.

Jérôme, who was tired of his life at sea, now proposed an immediate return to France; but Willaumez did not dare to violate the express orders of the Emperor, and firmly refused. Before the fleet again set sail, the admiral indicated two points of meeting, in case the vessels should become separated.

On the 27 July, the *Vétéran* made a capture, which caused some delay, and the following day the remainder of the squadron was no longer in sight. Without paying any attention to the admiral's orders regarding the point of rendez-vous, Jérôme sailed first to the Banks of Newfoundland, and then gained the coast of Spain, by way of the Azores. The middle of August, he encountered en route an English convoy, and captured eleven of the sixteen vessels of which it was composed.

On the 25 August, Jérôme encountered an English squadron off Lorient, but managed to escape by running into the Bay of Concarneau. He seemed to think that this was the most glorious exploit of his naval career, for he ordered a painting made of it.

Five days before, on the 20 August, at which date it was impossible that Jérôme's return could have been known at Stuttgart, the King of Würtemberg had given his formal consent to the marriage.

When the Emperor first heard of the arrival of the *Vétéran,* he thought that the entire squadron had returned; but he made the most of the news. The papers were ordered to print long reports of the capture, by *His Imperial Highness, Prince Jérôme,* of a convoy of British vessels, valued at five million francs!

Jérôme proceeded directly to Paris, where he received a very warm welcome from the Emperor. He arrived just in time to fit in with Napoleon's plans. He was immediately decorated with the grand cordon of the Légion, and given the qualification of Imperial Highness.

Although the Patterson marriage had not yet been dissolved, on the 9 September Duroc signed the articles of the contract for the marriage of Jérôme and the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. Fortunately the Court was Protestant and cared but little for the opinion of the Pope. The marriage by procuration was to take place in Stuttgart on the 15 October, and to be followed later by ceremonies in France in conformity with the laws of the Empire and the rites of the Catholic Church. As in the case of the marriage of Charles of Baden and Stéphanie, no mention was made of the religion of the princess; but, no doubt, there was an understanding in both cases that the wife could have the free exercise of her own faith, and that any children born of the marriage should be educated in the religion of the father. Nor was there any stipulation regarding the annulment of the Patterson marriage.

The dot was fixed at 100,000 florins,[1] and the King was to give his daughter jewels of an equal value. The Emperor and Prince Jérôme were to furnish 300,000 francs in jewelry and precious stones; and the princess was to have an allowance of 100,000 francs, "independent of her household, which the prince was to maintain on a scale commensurate with her birth and rank." Her dowery was to comprise an income of 120,000 francs, in addition to her house, and all of her jewels. Such a contract had never before been signed in Europe, in the case either of a French or of a foreign princess.

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[1] Equivalent to about 250,000 francs.

In letters to Joseph and Louis, under dates of the 12 and 15 September, Napoleon announced the return of Jérôme, the honors given him, and the arrangements for his marriage. The Emperor was so much pleased with Jérôme that he even contemplated a project for a formal decree, to be ratified by a vote of the French people, conferring upon his brother the right of succession to the throne. But this plan was not carried out, due perhaps to the sudden outbreak of the war with Prussia.[2]

On the 21 September, the Emperor announced to Jérôme that, from the first of October, he would receive an allowance of a million francs, "his appanage as a French prince." At the same time, he gave his brother a complete household, of which, however, he dictated only the principal members: the almoner, Cardinal Maury; the chamberlain, General Hédouville; and the écuyer, Lefebvre-Desnoëttes.[3]

Having given his brother these three personages, as a kind of "guard of honor," the Emperor graciously permitted Jérôme to appoint Lecamus as his secretary, and Meyronnet as aide de camp. Jérôme also wanted Halgan, but the Emperor had recently given this promising officer the command of a ship, and he refused his consent, writing: "Leave the commander of the *Topaze* upon the seas; I need my Naval officers more in my ports than upon the Oder."

For the moment, however, the marriage was postponed by the fact that the decree of divorce had not yet been pronounced, and by the outbreak of the war with Prussia. On the 19 September, Jérôme was promoted rear-admiral, and on the 25th he left for Mayence in the suite of the Emperor. Arriving there on the 28th, three days later Jérôme set out for Würzburg, to meet his future father-in-law, the King of Würtemberg, The King seems to have been delighted with Jérôme, and spoke of him, in his letters to his daughter, in the highest terms. For her part, Catherine was wholly conquered by the view of the miniature of her future husband; and she could hardly wait to display to her father all the robes and other beautiful articles sent her from Paris for her trousseau.

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[2] See 3 Masson, 373, and note.

[3] Maury had been a deputy to the Assembly during the Revolution, and was now Bishop of Montefiascone in Italy; he was a protégé of Élisa's. Hédouville, who was fifty-one years of age, had been chief of staff to Hoche, in the Army of the Moselle; ambassador to Russia in 1801; and later chamberlain of the Emperor, and senator. Lefebvre-Desnoëttes had been a member of Napoleon's military household, as Consul and Emperor, and had recently married one of Napoleon's cousins, on which occasion the Emperor presented him with the hôtel in the Rue Chantereine. He distinguished himself at Waterloo, and emigrated, after the return of the Bourbons, to America; later, he perished in a shipwreck.

On the 6 October, the marriage of Jérôme and Miss Patterson was formally declared null and void by the official of the diocese of Paris, on the grounds that there had been no publication of the banns; that he, a minor, had not obtained the consent of his mother, and so on.

But the decree was announced too late for Jérôme to take immediate advantage of it. On the 8 October, the Emperor gave him command of an army corps, composed of troops from Bavaria and Würtemberg, about 25,000 strong. He was not present at the battle of Jena (14 October); after the victory, at his own request, he was attached to the suite of the Emperor, whom he accompanied to Berlin. Ten days later Jérôme left Berlin to rejoin his troops. During the next four months, his corps was employed in Silesia. Jérôme played a very insignificant rôle in the campaign, and distinguished himself mainly by his mistakes, his insubordination, and his quarrels with his superior officers, many of whom, like Vandamme had seen service when he was in his cradle. For these valiant feats of arms, on the 14 March 1807 the Emperor conferred on him the grade of major-general,[4] which Jérôme accepted as the natural result of his services.

During all this period, Jérôme's letters to his great brother were couched in terms of the most abject humility. "I beg Your Majesty to believe," he wrote, "that there is no being on earth who has so much at heart as myself the desire to merit your esteem and to be worthy of your confidence. . . . I look for no other reward than a single word of satisfaction from the person I adore the most in the world." And Napoleon is so completely taken in by this gross flattery that he forgets all the mistakes, all the arbitrary acts, all the violations of military rules, and sincerely believes what he writes Joseph: "Prince Jérôme conducts himself well; I am well satisfied with him, and I am much mistaken if there is not that in him to make a man of the first order. . . . He is adored in Silesia. I have thrown him intentionally into an isolated and independent command; for I do not believe in the proverb that in order to know how to command, one must know how to obey." Could blind partiality go farther than this!

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[4] The highest rank in the French army below that of marshal.

At Tilsit, the establishment of Jérôme was not the least of Napoleon's preoccupations. He had decided to form a new kingdom for Jérôme, of which the duchy of Westphalia would be the nucleus, augmented by the possessions of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and several small principalities. "My brother," he wrote Jérôme, "I have just concluded peace with Russia and Prussia. You have been recognized as King of Westphalia. This kingdom comprises all the States of which you will find attached the list." [5]

From Tilsit, on the 6 July, even before the treaty was signed, the Emperor wrote Talleyrand to prepare some arms for the King of Westphalia. Talleyrand took the matter up with great zeal, and "encaged in a single shield all the heraldic animals figuring in the arms of Brunswick, Hesse, and the other States; it made a regular menagerie: a horse and ten lions, of every enamel, of every metal, and of every attitude, with the eagle of the Empire over all." [6] How this courtier of the Ancien Régime must have "laughed in his sleeve" as he designed these arms for the parvenu Jérôme Bonaparte! But poor Jérôme was not responsible; and he probably thought that his arms were more magnificent than those of any royal House in Europe.

Summoned by the Emperor, Jérôme rejoined him at Dresden

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[5] The Treaty of Tilsit gave Napoleon entire liberty in the formation of the new State, which he could enlarge or restrict at his pleasure.

[6] 3 Masson, 396.

(17 July), and returned with him to France, taking up his residence in the Pavillon de Flore on the 27 July.

It was now necessary to carry out the arrangements made with the Court of Würtemberg. The princess to whom Jérôme was affianced was nearly two years older than himself, having been born on the 21 February 1783, while he was born on the 15 November 1784. The second child of the marriage of Frederick-William-Charles of Würtemberg and the Princess Augusta of Brunswick, she first saw the light of day at Saint Petersburg, where her father was then stationed. She was brought up at the Court of Russia, with her cousins, the children of the Czar Paul and the Czarina Marie, her aunt, who was born Dorothée of Würtemberg. Her mother having died when she was four years old, she was then taken in charge by her paternal grandmother, the Duchess Sophia of Würtemberg, a niece of Frederick the Great. At this time there were three lives between her father and the ducal throne, but two uncles died without leaving any children (1793 and 1795), and he succeeded on the death of his father in 1797. Chased from his dominions by the French during the Revolution, he allied himself with the First Consul in 1802, and a year later received, in exchange for his territory on the left bank of the Rhine, nine Imperial cities, and other domains, with the title of elector, which was changed in 1806 to that of King. By the Treaty of Presburg, he gained not only the royal crown, but a territory of 160,000 souls; and his possessions were further augmented under the constitution of the Confederation of the Rhine. Although he had contracted in 1797 a second marriage, with a daughter of the King of England, this did not cause him to waver in his fidelity to France. However, he seemed to care but little for his English wife, and all of his affection was lavished on his daughter, Catherine, over whom he ruled with a loving, but despotic, hand.

Although she certainly was not spoiled by her father, Catherine seemed to love him. The King was the most corpulent man in Europe, and his daughter, even as a young girl, showed a decided tendency to *embonpoint*. Her face was large, her nose short, her eyes blue and prominent, her mouth charming, her figure well developed, her hands and feet small and perfectly modelled. She had been well educated, and spoke several languages, including French. She was well read in the history of Germany, and was aware that there were few reigning Houses in which there were no bastards. She therefore knew that a wife must often forgive her husband — which was certainly a good preparation for her life with Jérôme!

On the 10 August, Marshal Bessières, the ambassador extraordinary of the Emperor, arrived at Stuttgart to make the formal demand for the hand of the princess. On the 12th, the marriage by procuration took place, and two days later the princess set out for France. Stage by stage, Catherine rendered an account to her father, with the meticulous faculty of observation which was part of her education and of her character. On the 15th, the party arrived at Strasbourg, where the ceremony of the *remise* took place; and on the 21st they reached Le Raincy, in the suburbs of Paris, where it had been arranged that Jérôme was to see his bride for the first time. Jérôme was late, and did not appear until evening; then, he was, for some reason, in bad humor, and appeared as timid and embarrassed as his bride. Their interview en tête-à-tête lasted only a few minutes, the prince leaving her, after pronouncing the little speech he had prepared: " My brother awaits us; I do not wish to postpone longer the pleasure that he will have in meeting the new sister whom I am about to give him." Poor Catherine was so overcome by the effort to control her emotions that she swooned.

To Catherine, with her sentimentality of a mature, plump, German girl, full of loving respect and tender confidence, Jérôme seemed a true Prince Charmant. He was tall, slender, well-built, with the classic features of the Bonapartes — a slender and finely formed nose, beautiful eyes, a bow-shaped mouth, with dazzling white teeth; beardless, with the tint of an antique marble statue; his head covered with a mass of black hair. His face and figure were so feminine that he had been taken for the Empress, when, a few days before, in the costume of a French Prince,[7] he had accompanied the Emperor to the *Te Deum* at Notre-Dame.

Jérôme's impression of his wife was far from favorable. "The princess," he wrote, "seems above all very good; without being pretty, she is not bad." In comparison with the lovely Betsy Patterson, Catherine must indeed have appeared to him plain.

That Jérôme was not free from some twinges of remorse is shown by his letter of the 26 August to Lucien, in which, after advising his brother to follow his example, he said: "You know the sentiments of my heart, and that only the interests of my family have made me contract other bonds. Say, Lucien, 'my brother is unfortunate, but he is not guilty.'"

Leaving Le Raincy the same evening (21 August) at seven-thirty, the princess arrived at the Tuileries at nine o'clock. Here she was received at the foot of the grand stairway by the whole Court, and by the Emperor in the first salon. The account of her first evening in Paris, in a letter to her father, is most interesting:

"I threw myself at the feet of the Emperor," she said. "He raised me very graciously, and tenderly embraced me. Then he conducted me through all the apartments, and led me to the salon of the Empress, where she was, with Madame, mother of the Emperor, the Queen of Naples, the Grand-Duchess of Berg, and the Princess Stéphanie. The Emperor presented me to all these princesses; then he escorted me to his own apartments, where dinner was served. He talked a great deal with me, and forced me to drink wine, to give me courage, as he said. It is true that I needed it, although I was much less intimidated by the Emperor than by the prince. . . . After dinner we entered the Salon of the Emperor, where we remained a round hour. He conversed with the princes, the princesses; but he was above all extremely kind and amiable to me, embracing me several times, and saying the kindest things in the world. . . . I should never have thought that the Emperor was capable of displaying so much friendship for any one. After that the Emperor went for a drive of an hour in the Garden of the Tuileries and the Bois de Boulogne, and he did me the honor to take me in his carriage. . . . After our return, there was a reception of the ladies of the Empress, and the Emperor conversed with them. Then he took me by the hand and conducted me to my apartment, which is adjoining that of the Empress."

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[7] Of white satin and velours, trimmed with lace, and a black toque with white plumes. (3 Masson, 406.)

It was then after one o'clock in the morning, and the poor girl, who had been up for twenty-two hours, was half dead with fatigue; but she had still to endure a visit from Joséphine, who wished to see her diamonds!

She had scarcely finished her letter to her father in the morning when the Emperor and Empress came to ask how she was feeling. The Emperor himself insisted upon trying on her diadem, and adjusted her comb, her earrings, and her necklace. He was full of little attentions, and addressed her only as "Papa's darling child." In all these acts, Napoleon was only carrying out the promises he had made to her father. "I feel," he wrote the King, "how much at such a time, and in a strange country, she needs to find again the friendly care to which she was so accustomed at Stuttgart."

Then Jérôme came in, and the Emperor and Empress left them alone. Both were equally embarrassed, and neither one had anything to say. Fortunately, Joséphine entered the room several times, which was a great relief to Jérôme. He was very fond of "his dear and well-loved little sister," who had always been his confidante, and his protectress in his boyish escapades.

That evening (22 August) the civil marriage took place. At eight o'clock the whole Court was assembled in the Galerie de Diane. The wedding party entered from the Salon of the Emperor, Joséphine conducting Jérôme, and Napoleon escorting the bride. The marriage contract was read by Regnault; then Cambacérès, the arch-chancellor, performed the marriage ceremony: "Prince Jérôme-Napoléon," he said, "do you declare that you take in marriage the Princess-Royal Frédérique-Catherine-Sophie of Würtemberg, here present." The same question to the fiancée, and the union is pronounced, "In the name of the Emperor and the Law."

Every one was nearly suffocated in the Gallery,[8] where eight hundred people were crowded, and the Emperor was in haste to have the ceremony over; he held a short reception, and then disappeared. The Empress took Catherine and the princesses to admire the wedding presents. Besides the jewels, to the value of six hundred thousand francs, given by the Emperor and Jérôme, the trousseau had cost nearly four hundred thousand francs. Everything had been ordered in France, for "the little that she had brought from Würtemberg was not wearable in Paris." Catherine wrote her father: "The Emperor has given me even my chemises."

In the memoirs of Comte Molé, there is a striking portrait of the Emperor, as he appeared, about this period of his career, to this critical observer. "Napoleon's face," he writes, "seen at such close quarters, struck me even more forcibly than the idea I had formed of it. I have always believed in faces. His was in keeping with his whole history. His head was superb, and unlike any other. In the depth of his skull, the formation of his splendid forehead, the setting of his eyes, his sculptured lips, the droop at the corners of his mouth, the beautiful proportions of his face, and the regularity of his features, but above all in his glance and his smile, — in all this, I thought I could recognize all the qualities which raise a man above his fellows, and make him fit to rule over them."[9]

The following evening, at the same hour, the religious marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the Tuileries, with the greatest pomp and ceremony. But, upon this occasion, the grand almoner (Fesch) did not officiate; nor did Cardinal Caprara, who had celebrated the marriage of Stéphanie and Charles, and who had received from the Pope the severest of reprimands for his act, because he had made no stipulation regarding the faith of the children. The ceremony was performed by Dalberg, the prince-primate of the Confederation of the Rhine, between which and the Papacy there was no concordat in existence. On this occasion, the Pope accepted the marriage as a *fait accompli:* he raised no questions as to the validity of the second marriage, and solemnly confirmed the sentence annuling the first.[10]

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[8] The Galerie de Diane was 26 feet wide, by 129 feet long. (See Appendix B.)

[9] Molé, 1 *Memoirs*, 57 (Eng. trans.).

Following the marriage, there was a banquet in the Galerie de Diane, and a concert and ballet in the Salle des Maréchaux; but the fireworks had to be abandoned on account of a violent storm. The evening ended with a reception, after which the Emperor and Empress departed for Saint-Cloud.

The young couple passed their honeymoon in Jérôme's little apartment of three rooms in the Pavillon de Flore, where they were very much cramped for room. "The salon is so small," wrote Catherine, "that when there are eight persons in it, one is stifled."

On the 21 September, the Emperor departed for Fontainebleau, and it was necessary to accompany him. Here, Jérôme conceived a violent passion for the frivolous young Duchess of Baden, and flirted with her so outrageously that Catherine was in despair. Napoleon called his brother severely to account, and Joséphine sermonized her lively young cousin, Stéphanie.[11]

The Emperor sent Jérôme to Boulogne, under pretext of having him supervise the launching of the *Arcone*. During his absence, Napoleon treated Catherine with the utmost kindness. "The Emperor," she wrote, "laughs much at my sadness, but overwhelms me with attentions since the departure of Jérôme. He invites me to dine with him every day, and the Empress has me for breakfast every morning. It would be impossible to display more friendship for their own daughter than they show for me."

Jérôme returned; but the time had come for the end of the sojourn at Fontainebleau. On the 16 November, the Emperor set out for Italy, and two days later the sovereigns of Westphalia were on their way to their States. This little stay at Paris had cost their people much: in two months Jérôme had spent three million francs.[12]

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[10] See his letter to the Emperor, cited 3 Masson, 413.

[11] See *Napoleon and Joséphine,* 246–247.

[12] 3 Masson, 418.

CHAPTER TWENTY

NOVEMBER 1807 — JANUARY 1808

NAPOLEON IN ITALY

Napoleon Suggests a Divorce — Joséphine's Attitude — Fouché Intervenes — Napoleon's Reproof — The Emperor Leaves for Italy — His Affection for Augusta — His Letters — Birth of Joséphine — Eugène's Honors — The Queen of Etruria — Élisa's Intrigues to Gain Tuscany — Her Failure — Main Object of Napoleon's Journey — Lucien's Life at Rome — His Estate of Canino — New Negotiations with Him — His Financial Affairs — Élisa's Adroit Letter — Honors from the Pope — Napoleon's Plans for Lolotte — Bases of the Negotiations — Interview of Napoleon and Lucien — Its Failure — Error of the Emperor — Napoleon Again Asks for Lolotte — Lucien's Refusal

DURING the sojourn of the Court at Fontainebleau the question of the divorce of Joséphine was seriously broached for the first time. Two apparently insignificant events which had occurred during the preceding ten months had led Napoleon to take this momentous step, which was destined to have a decisive effect on his fate and that of his Empire.[1]

On the 13 December 1806, at No. 37, Rue de la Victoire, at Paris, a certain Mlle. Éléonore Dénuelle, aged twenty years, had given birth to a male child, to whom was given the name of Léon.

On the 5 May 1807, at the Royal Palace of The Hague, Napoleon-Charles, the elder son of Louis and Hortense, was carried off by the croup, at the age of four years and seven months.[2]

This boy Léon was the fruit of a passing fancy of the Emperor for a reader of his sister Caroline, who had been her companion at the school of Madame Campan. From the first days of their liaison, Éléonore had been guarded as carefully as an odalisque in a Turkish harem, and Napoleon was certain that he was the father of the child.[3] The doubt of his virility, encouraged by Joséphine and his family, was dissipated forever. If he could have one child, it was certainly possible to have another. To his own son, the issue of his own flesh and blood, he could leave his Empire, and the domination of Europe. There would be no more discussions over the question of the heredity, no more hesitations over the matter of the divorce. He would find the woman to be associated with him in the founding of the Fourth Dynasty; and his choice once made, all would be over with Joséphine!

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[1] 4 Masson, 2.

[2] See *Napoleon and Joséphine*, 225 *et seq.*

Napoleon, after much reflection, finally found the courage to take the matter up with Joséphine. He spoke of the quarrels between Louis and Hortense, the delicate health of their only remaining child, and then went on to say that some day he would perhaps be constrained by the demands of public policy to take a wife who could give him an heir. He then begged Joséphine to assume the initiative, and to take the responsibility for this forced separation. But Joséphine was too adroit to be caught in any such trap, and precipitate the catastrophe which she so much dreaded. She replied: "Sire, you are the master, and you will decide upon my fate. When you command me to leave the Tuileries, I shall instantly obey; but at least you must order it in a positive manner. I am your wife: I have been crowned by you in the presence of the Pope; such honors impose the obligation of not resigning them voluntarily. If you divorce me, all France will know that it is you who drives me away, and will be ignorant neither of my obedience, nor of my profound grief."

This reply did not offend Napoleon, but moved him almost to tears. In fact, he was torn by many conflicting emotions. He still loved Joséphine; but, on the other hand, he felt that only an heir to the throne would save France from chaos after his death. No ruler in history was ever placed in a more difficult position.

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[3] See Masson, *Napoléon et les femmes,* 165–176.

At this point Fouché intervened — either through excess of zeal, or perhaps at the instigation of the Emperor himself. In a long letter to the Empress, he said, among other things: "It is useless to dissimulate the fact, Madame, that the political future of France is compromised by the lack of an heir to the Emperor. As Minister of Police, I am in a position to know public opinion, and I know that there is much disquietude over the matter of the succession to such an empire. Figure to yourself, Madame, the stability which the throne of His Majesty would possess to-day, if it were founded upon the existence of a son!"

In conclusion, he spoke of the conflict between the conjugal tenderness of the Emperor and the demands of public policy, and ventured to advise Her Majesty to make herself a courageous effort, and to immolate herself for France.

After consulting with M. de Rémusat, Joséphine showed this letter to Napoleon, who pretended to be very angry with Fouché, and reassured her with his display of affection. He said to Joséphine that Fouché had acted from an excess of zeal, and added: "You must not treasure it up against him. It is enough that we are determined to reject his advice, and that you know well that I cannot live without you." Then he wrote Fouché (5 November): "For a fortnight past you have made foolish blunders: it is time that they came to an end, and that you ceased to meddle, directly or indirectly, with a matter which does not in any way concern you. Such is my wish!"

On the 16 November, Napoleon left for Italy, and Joséphine returned to Paris. She wished to accompany the Emperor, to see her son Eugène and the baby granddaughter who bore her name, but this time Napoleon absolutely refused his consent. He said that he would be gone only two or three weeks, that the weather would be very cold, and that she had better await his return at the Tuileries.

On Napoleon's arrival at Milan (21 November), he found that Augusta was ill, and he went to see her the following day at Monza.[4] Since her marriage to Eugène, the Emperor had displayed for her the greatest affection. His fondness for Augusta seems to have been due in part to her seductive beauty, and in part to remorse for his action in tearing her from the arms of her fiancé, to give her to his stepson. In his first letter to her (19 January 1806), he said: "My daughter, the sentiments which I feel for you can only increase with the days. In the midst of all my affairs, there will never be anything dearer to me than those acts which can assure the happiness of my children. Believe, Augusta, that I love you like a father, and that you will have for me all the tenderness of a daughter."

His little attentions showed that she was constantly in his thoughts. He sent her his portrait, "as a proof of his esteem and his friendship"; he chose the books, to form her mind, as Joséphine, the robes to adorn her body. He was disturbed over the quiet life led by her and Eugène. "You must have more gaiety in your house," he wrote his stepson; "that is necessary for the happiness of your wife, and for your own health. . . . I lead the life that you lead, but I have an old wife who does not need me to amuse her; I also have more cares; and yet it can certainly be said that I take more diversions and more recreations than you take. A young woman needs to be amused, especially one in her situation. Formerly, you were quite fond of pleasure; you must return to your tastes: what you would not do for yourself, you must do for the princess."

When Eugène had to make a tour of inspection, to organize the six new departments added to the Kingdom of Italy by the treaty of Presburg, it was the Emperor who consoled Augusta. "I understand," he wrote her, "the loneliness that you must feel to find yourself abandoned in the midst of Lombardy; but Eugène will return soon, and we only feel how much we love when we meet again, or during absence."

He learned with the greatest satisfaction that Eugène and Augusta were happy together; "but, did they not love each other too much, at present?" Now, his hope was that they would have children, and it gave him great pleasure to hear of the expectations of Augusta. "Take good care of yourself in your present state," he wrote her; "and try not to give us a girl. I will give you a prescription for that, but you will not believe it: it is, to drink every day a glass of pure wine."

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[4] A place located about eight miles from Milan, and having a royal château, standing in a beautiful and extensive park.

During the war with Prussia, he gave Augusta the greatest possible proof of his high regard for her. She had written to beg that he would spare the States of her grandmother, and had ventured even to plead for her aunt, the Queen of Prussia. Napoleon replied: "Out of love for you, I have given orders to be lenient with the whole House of Strélitz. Your grandmother is tranquil; but your aunt, the Queen of Prussia, acts so badly! She is so unfortunate to-day, however, that it is unnecessary to say anything more on the subject. Let us hear soon that we have a big boy; and, if we have a girl, that she is as amiable and good as yourself." He signs, "Your affectionate father"; and the same day he despatches orders to Marshal Mortier in favor "of the grandmother of the Princesse Eugène."

On the 14 March 1807, Augusta gave birth to a daughter. "My son," the Emperor wrote Eugène, "I congratulate you upon the accouchement of the princesse. I am very impatient to learn that she is doing well, and that she is out of danger. I hope that your daughter will be as good and as amiable as her mother. At present it only remains for you to try to give us a boy next year. Have your girl named Joséphine." She was christened Joséphine-Maximilienne-Auguste-Eugénie-Napoléon, thus uniting all of the family names.[5]

During his trip to Venice, the Emperor had an opportunity to judge of the efficiency of the viceroy's administration, and on his return to Milan he loaded Eugène with favors. It is true that, by his formal decree of the 2 December, he only proclaimed and made legal in Italy the arrangements which, in January 1806, he had communicated to the French Senate, and which were the conditions of the marriage — the adoption of Eugène, and the provision for his succession to the throne of Italy; but he added the title of Prince of Venice, conferred on "his well-loved son Prince Eugène-Napoléon, his heir presumptive to the crown of Italy." At the same time, he gave the little Joséphine the title of Princess of Bologna, and promised to endow her later.[6]

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[5] Joséphine married, 19 June 1828, the prince royal of Sweden, eldest son of Bernadotte, later king under the name of Oscar the First.

Immediately after his return to Paris, the Emperor wrote Eugène (3 January 1808): "I am sending you, for your New Year's present, the sabre which I wore on the battle-fields of Italy. I hope that it will bring you good luck, and that you will gain glory with it if circumstances force you to draw it for the defence of Italy."

What more could Joséphine desire, to render "stable and firm forever" the position given her son? The Emperor had kept, and more than kept, all his promises. If the services rendered had been great, the reward had been immense. The Empress, in this connection at least, ought to be satisfied.[7]

Two days after his arrival at Milan, Napoleon summoned Joseph and Élisa to meet him at Venice on the 2 December. Élisa made haste to keep the rendez-vous; she joined the Emperor on the 26 November at Fusina, and entered Venice with him. Her enemy the Queen of Etruria was about to disappear from the scene, and she had great hopes of securing Tuscany. Through her friends at the Court of the Emperor, especially "her dear prince," Talleyrand, to whom by every courier she sent the "assurances of her affection and her friendship," she was kept well-advised of the plans of Napoleon. By the treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 27 October 1807, the Queen of Etruria was to exchange her fine domain of Tuscany for a kingdom which the Emperor would conquer for her, perhaps, between Mino and Douro, and would have Oporto as her capital in place of Florence. A month later (23 November) she was notified by Aubusson, the French minister to Florence, to leave at once.

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[6] This promise was not carried out until the 18 May 1813, when the Emperor erected the territory of Galliera into a duchy, bringing in a revenue of 200,000 francs, and assigned it to the princess, together with the palace of Bologna.

[7] 4 Masson, 19.

Napoleon's first plan, which he announced to Eugène on the 11 November, was to unite Tuscany to the Kingdom of Italy, but he subsequently changed his mind. When Élisa met him at Venice, she was discreet enough not to ask for so great an augmentation of her territory, and confined herself to a demand for the rectification of her boundaries, regarding which she had had considerable correspondence with the Emperor during the preceding months. She had sent Champagny, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris, a map on which she had marked the limits that she desired. "Not being able to live near His Majesty at Paris," she wrote, "I desire to have a State which will not be unworthy to belong to me. I have not much ambition, but, being the sister of the Emperor, I must desire and aspire to more than the 150,000 inhabitants who constitute the principality of Lucca."

From her interview with the Emperor, however, Élisa gained for the moment only some vague promises of money, which, in the end, he kept only in part, and then not for the direct benefit of Élisa, but for her daughter. At the same date (13 March 1808), the Emperor announced his purchase of her hôtel in the Rue de la Chaise, for the sum of 800,000 francs, which sum he placed to her credit upon the *Grand Livre,* to bring her in an income of 50,000 francs. Bacciochi, also, was deprived of his salary as senator. Nevertheless, Élisa did not lose hope: the final disposition of Tuscany was still in abeyance.

One of the main objects of Napoleon's visit to Italy was to have a talk with Lucien, whom he had not seen since his brother left Paris in April 1804, nearly four years before. At any price, he wished to gain the adhesion of Lucien, whom he needed in his system; and he flattered himself that, after so many conquests, with all Europe bowed before him, the entire Family submissive to his designs, a glory and a prestige which no one contested, his brother must yield. During the past four years, on as many occasions, he had authorized negotiations with Lucien, each time multiplying his promises and raising his offers. This time he came with a new proposition, to which he had given much thought, and which, he believed, would cost only little to Lucien's pride to accept.

After the definite breaking off of the negotiations in the month of June 1805, and the return of the Emperor to Paris, Lucien had decided to make his arrangements for a prolonged stay in Italy. He bought the Palazzo Nuñez, at Rome, and installed there all of his paintings, augmented by the principal master-pieces of the Justiniani Gallery, which he had just acquired. He made considerable additions to the palace, installing a pool, " where his wife and children could learn to swim " ; and building a theatre where he could give performances. Notwithstanding his large expenditures, he felt so affluent that he proposed to loan the Pope a very considerable sum of money. The Holy Father would consent to accept the money, however, only on condition of giving in exchange the domain of Canino.[8]

Lucien went from Frascati to take possession of his new estate. He arranged a fine residence; ordered work resumed on the iron mines; restored the mineral baths, which formerly had borne a high reputation; and began excavations, which became one of his absorbing passions, and from which he drew many treasures of art. At Canino, on the 14 June 1806, his wife gave birth to a third child, who received the name of Joseph-Lucien.[9] Joseph, who had visited his brother en route for Naples, was the godfather.

The air of Canino, which was located some fifty miles northwest of Rome, not far from the coast, was not considered healthy in summer, so Lucien took his family for the season to the baths of Lucca. Later he made a visit to Florence, where Élisa came to see him, and doubtless communicated some propositions from the Emperor. On his return to Rome, Lucien talked very freely, and the family were afraid that he would spoil everything. From Pont, on the 7 September, his mother wrote him: "You should use the greatest discretion and reserve, both in what you say, and in what you write, to everybody."

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[8] From this property, Lucien took his Italian title of Prince of Canino, conferred on him by the Pope.

[9] He died at Rome 15 August 1807.

About this same date, Napoleon made another effort. He wrote Joseph (12 September): "As I must have a plébiscite for Jérôme, I do not want Lucien to lose this chance." This only brought a new check. "Sire," wrote Joseph (29 September), "I have written Lucien, but he persists in making no change in his relations with his wife and children. . . . He therefore remains quietly at Rome."

Other members of the family, particularly Madame and Fesch, seem to have taken part in these last approaches to Lucien. His reply to Fesch was extremely bitter. "Have at least enough common sense," he wrote on the 6 October, "not to put me on a plane with Jérôme, and to spare me the useless shame of your cowardly advice. . . . At least conceal under your purple the baseness of your sentiments, and make your way in silence along the highway of ambition."

This letter brought a reproof from his mother, who replied for her brother, on the 2 November: "I cannot refrain from telling you that you have treated him very badly. All that he said certainly came from the feeling and the desire to see you contented and happy, on an equality with your other brothers. He does not deserve to be treated in this manner; and you should search for an opportunity to soften the chagrin which you have caused him." As for bringing back her obstinate son, she renounces all hope: "I am destined to pass my life in sadness and desolation; I have finished forever speaking to you on this subject, and, in the future, I shall limit myself to deploring in my conscience your disgrace and my own."

The princely life led by Lucien, with his palaces at Rome, his estates of Canino and Bassano, his villas at Frascati, and in half a dozen other places, finally ended in exhausting his resources. In May 1807, he was so short of money that he offered to sell Louis his paintings. His financial embarrassment raised new hopes that he might be ready to capitulate, and the negotiations were again reopened. This fact seems to be proved by the letter that Élisa wrote him from Marlia, the 20 June 1807:

> Propositions have been made you which you would have found suitable a year ago, and which you would have accepted at once, for the happiness of your family and of your wife. To-day, you refuse them. Do you not see, dear friend, that the only way of raising obstacles to the adoption is for His Majesty to have a family at his disposition? In remaining near Napoleon, or in receiving a throne from him, you will be useful to him; he will marry your daughters; and so long as he finds in his family the possibility of carrying out his projects and his policies (which should be paramount with him), he will not choose strangers. You must not try to negotiate with the master of the world on a plane of equality. Nature made us the children of the same father, but his deeds have made us his subjects. Although sovereigns, we owe all to him. There is a noble pride in avowing it; and it seems to me that our only glory should be in proving, by our manner of ruling, that we are worthy of him, and of our family. Therefore, think over again the propositions made you. Mama, and all of us, would be so happy to be reunited, and to make only one political family. Dear Lucien, do this for us who love you, for the people whom my brother will give you to govern, and whose happiness you will make.

It is possible that Lucien at this time might have listened to the pleas of his entire family and yielded, if it had not been for the intervention of the Pope, whom Napoleon, so needlessly, had turned from a friend into an enemy. As soon as Pius was informed of the birth, at Canino on the 22 July, of a daughter to Lucien he offered to be the godfather of the child, and announced that he would give her the name of his mother, Jeanne. In this manner, the union of Lucien and Mme. Jouberthou, of which the Emperor had disapproved, received from the Supreme Pontiff the most striking benediction. What the Pope had refused to kings, he gave of his own volition to Lucien. From that moment, the reconciliation was impossible.

Lucien immediately informed all the members of the family of this favor from the Pope, and received their felicitations; but, at the moment, none of them seems to have divined that this would put a new obstacle in the way of Napoleon's plans.

During his visit to Rome, for the ceremonies of the baptism, Lucien had the sorrow of losing his second son, born the preceding year. The family passed the remainder of the summer at one of Lucien's villas, and then returned to the Palazzo Nuñez for the winter.

Such was the situation when Napoleon arrived in Italy in November 1807, with the determination of having a final and decisive interview with his brother. His desire to reach an understanding with Lucien was increased, on reaching Milan, by a letter which he received from Charles the Fourth of Spain, asking for a wife for his heir, the Prince of the Asturias. Other marriages were also in prospective, for which the Emperor could not count on the daughters of Joseph, children of five and six years, of whom one was rickety. Lolotte, the elder daughter of Lucien by his first marriage, was nearly thirteen;[10] and under monarchical usages a girl of twelve was old enough to be affianced.

Yielding to the repeated solicitations of his family, Lucien left Rome on the 7 December for Milan, to meet the Emperor. En route, at Modena, on the 10th, he met Joseph, who had left Napoleon at Venice two days before. On the 11 December, Joseph wrote the Emperor a long letter, in which he set forth Lucien's state of mind:

> Sire, I have encountered Lucien at Modena. He is in great haste to meet you, especially in view of what I told him, regarding your kind disposition toward him, as well as toward his children of an age to be established.
>
> He persists in the assurances, already given me when I passed through Rome: that, content with his position, he has no desire to change it, except in such a degree as may be useful to the dynastic views of Your Majesty, and compatible with the duty

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[10] She was born on the 22 February 1795.

he has imposed upon himself not to abandon a wife who has borne him four children. . . .

For the rest, he is ready to seize all the chances that it pleases you to offer him, to issue from the position of nullity in which he is now; and he considers that it is proper for you not to recognize in his case any rights of heredity in France, as you do not recognize the children born of his marriage. But, it seems to him that, in an establishment abroad, the political considerations would not be the same, and that your indulgence could well allow him to share this establishment, whatever it may be, with his wife and children. According to what he told me, they were on the point of starting, to go and throw themselves at your feet: I dissuaded him from this, and arranged that he should send a courier to suspend their departure.

Here we have clearly set forth the bases upon which Lucien was ready to treat: (1) delivery of Lolotte to the Emperor; (2) refusal to abandon his wife and children; (3) *renunciation of all claims to the Imperial succession;* (4) request for an establishment outside of France, in which his family could participate, and which they could inherit.

But, when Lucien met the Emperor at Mantua on the night of the 12–13 December, the discussion seems to have wandered far from these points.[11]

According to Napoleon's account, the interview began with some recriminations regarding the Jouberthou marriage; then drifted into reminiscences of the 18 Brumaire, and recollections of men and things. Finally, the Emperor outlined his proposition: he would adopt, and place in the Imperial Family, the four daughters of Lucien, — not only those born of his first marriage, Charlotte and Christine, — but also Letitia and Jeanne, the children of Mme. Jouberthou, provided Lucien had first divorced her. He would consider the marriage as legal, and the children born subsequent to the marriage as legitimate;

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[11] There are three versions of this interview, which differ widely: the first, given by Napoleon on the 17th; the second, by Lucien on the 29th; and the third, drawn up by him five years later, which is full of statements evidently inspired by rancor and malice.

but he excluded the son born prior to their marriage, and he refused to recognize Alexandrine as an Imperial princess. If Lucien obtained a divorce, he would have the same rights as his brothers to the Imperial succession; he would be given a throne — probably that of Portugal; and he could continue to live quietly with Mme. Jouberthou, but outside of France, and on condition that she was accorded no royal honors.

Lucien, as on previous occasions, refused to divorce his wife, or to give up his children: this was his last word.

In reviewing these negotiations, after the lapse of six score years, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that Napoleon made a great mistake in not accepting his brother's terms. In offering to renounce his rights to the Imperial succession, Lucien had met the Emperor more than half-way. In their previous negotiations, Napoleon's principal objection to recognizing Mme. Jouberthou had been the fact that this would place her son, born out of wedlock, ahead of the children of Louis in the line of Imperial succession. This obstacle Lucien had removed; and, to secure his valuable services, as well as the disposition of his daughters for his own matrimonial plans, Napoleon could well have afforded to give Lucien an establishment outside of France, which he could share with his wife and children. One can sympathize with Napoleon's desire to keep his Imperial ermine unsullied, but there was no necessity for his being so particular regarding other thrones. In fact, the well-known saying of Shakespeare, "It is a wise father that knows his own child," could well be applied to many of the reigning Houses of Europe at that time.[12]

After this long interview, which had lasted more than six hours, Napoleon was still unwilling to abandon the hope of winning Lucien. He asked his brother to remain with him a few days; but Lucien, who feared to be over-persuaded, took his departure, under pretext of business engagements, and a sick child. Before leaving, however, this man, who had just refused a throne, asked for the grand cordon of the Légion d'honneur, " as a striking manifestation of the good-will of the Emperor."

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[12] To give one illustration only: It is generally believed that Paul the First, of Russia, the father of Napoleon's ally, Alexander, was not the son of Czar Peter, but of one of his chamberlains, Saltykof. (See Anthony's *Catherine the Great.*) But Waliszewski throws some doubts on this subject, saying, "Physically and morally, especially morally, Paul resembled his legitimate father." (See Waliszewski's *Catherine II de Russie,* 83–86.)

Even after this long conversation, the Emperor does not seem to have been clear as to the real sentiments of Lucien. From Milan, five days later (17 December), he wrote Joseph: " My brother, I have seen Lucien at Mantua. I have talked with him for several hours. . . . His thoughts and his words are so far from mine that I have found it difficult to seize what he desired. It seems to me that he told me that he would like to send his eldest girl to her grandmother at Paris. If he is still of the same mind, I wish to be informed on the subject at once; and it is necessary that this young person should be at Paris during the coming month, whether she be accompanied by Lucien, or sent to Madame in charge of a governess. Lucien appeared to me to be torn by different sentiments, and not to have force enough to take a stand."

The Emperor then went on to give his version of the negotiations, and said: " You see that I have exhausted all of the means in my power to bring back Lucien (who is still in his first youth)." [13]

In conclusion, Napoleon said: " If he wishes to send me his daughter, she must leave without delay; . . . and he must place her entirely at my disposal; for there is not a moment to lose: events are pressing, and my destinies must be accomplished. . . . I await with impatience a clear and definite answer, especially in regard to Lolotte."

Joseph, who received this letter at Naples on the 26th, immediately sent his first écuyer, Girardin, to Rome, with orders to let Lucien read it, but to retain the original. Lucien at this time gave Girardin his version of the Mantua interview; and said, regarding his daughter, that he would not send her to

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[13] He was thirty-two years of age!

Paris until she was old enough to be married, and in no case for the purpose of marrying the Prince of the Asturias. His real objections, however, were revealed in his words: "Can I send my daughter to a Court where she will hear continually that my wife is a concubine and her brother a bastard?"

During the interview, Alexandrine came in; and it was not difficult for Girardin, who had known her for many years, to divine that her influence with Lucien was paramount. As the final outcome of the interview, Girardin gathered that Lucien intended eventually to send Charlotte to Paris; but no date was set, and she remained in Rome.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

DECEMBER 1806 — MAY 1808

THE NAPOLEONIC KINGS

NAPOLEON — His Conception of the Grand Empire — Defects of His System — JOSEPH — The Court of Naples — Its Extravagance — Quarrels with the French Officers — Marshal Jourdan — Good and Bad Qualities of the King — LOUIS — His Rôle in the Prussian War — Disagreements with the Emperor — Sent Back to Holland — His New Measures — Disapproval of the Emperor — Hortense at Mayence — Her Return to The Hague — Her Attack of Jealousy — Quarrels with Louis — Intervention of Napoleon — Death of the Crown-Prince — Despair of Hortense — Napoleon's Coldness — Louis's Letter to Joséphine — Hortense at Cauterets — Louis Rejoins Her — Their Reconciliation — Verhuell and Decazes — Louis and Hortense Return to Paris — "Expectations" of the Queen — She Remains in Paris — MURAT — His Services during the Campaign — His Hopes of a Kingdom — His Wife's Intrigues — His Quarrels with the Emperor — JÉRÔME — His Kingdom — Satisfaction of the Emperor — Review of the Situation

LEAVING Turin in his travelling-coach on the night of the 28 December, Napoleon arrived at the Tuileries on the evening of New Year's day 1808. During this long journey of ninety-five hours he had time to review the plans made thirty months before, to consolidate his power by a system of family alliances, and by the formation of a chain of buffer States surrounding his Empire. Eugène was married to Augusta of Bavaria; Stéphanie, to Charles of Baden; Jérôme, to Catherine of Würtemberg. Joseph was King of Naples; Louis, King of Holland; Jérôme, King of Westphalia; Murat, Grand-Duke of Berg. With the sole exception of the failure of his negotiations with Lucien, all of his plans had been successfully carried out. He was now in a position to draw up a balance sheet: to decide whether his conception of the Grand-Empire had brought him strength or weakness, and to estimate the chances of its durability.

As already stated, Napoleon's conception of the Grand-Empire was founded upon the constitution of the old Roman Empire, with the underlying idea of the Corsican clan. But he does not seem to have realized that fundamental conditions had materially changed during the many centuries which had elapsed since the birth of the Christian era. Rome had imposed her power, by force of arms, on barbarians, or semi-civilized peoples, who were destitute of culture, of laws, and of organization. The European States which Napoleon proposed to dominate, for the most part had not been conquered by him: several of the nations had come to him voluntarily, had imposed their conditions, and received his solemn guarantee of their constitutions and their laws. They were, also, nations as fully civilized as France, with their customs, their laws, their social lives, their acquired habits, their diverse interests. These peoples, Napoleon proposed to rule, not in their own interests, but in the interests of France and her Emperor. This was the inherent defect of his system, and in it lay the germs of death.

In his celebrated interview with the Emperor at Saint-Cloud, on the 5 June 1811, upon his return from the embassy to Russia, Caulaincourt said: "Your Majesty cannot deny the fact that they know too well now in Europe that you want nations more for yourself than for their own interests."[1] The statement was so true that Napoleon could not, and did not attempt to, deny it.

In justice to the members of Napoleon's family, it should be said that, whatever their motives may have been, they endeavored almost without an exception to rule over the peoples committed to their charge as *national* sovereigns, in the interests of their subjects, and not for the sole benefit of the Emperor. This, from the first, was a constant source of friction between Napoleon and his brothers and sisters. It is easy to see the Emperor's point of view: he had made all of these monarchs, and he considered that their duty was primarily to him, and only secondarily to their subjects.[2] Holding these views, it would have been better for him to have annexed these States in the first instance to the Empire, as he did later in the case of Holland, and to have governed them, like Italy, through viceroys, instead of making them nominally independent.

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[1] See *Napoleon and Marie-Louise,* 265.

[2] See 3 Rœderer, 538.

As Napoleon reviewed the situation, he felt that he had more reasons to be satisfied with Joseph than with his other kinglets. Yet Naples was an insatiable whirlpool, which unceasingly swallowed up his men and his money, and from which he drew little or no profit.

If we could believe Joseph's own reports, he was occupied only with the public good; he worked so hard that it affected his health; it was only Sundays that he took a little repose, and had time to write his wife. In a letter to Julie, under date of the 26 April 1807, he says: "Naples is as tranquil as Paris; there is no discontent in any class of society; I give an example of moderation and of economy; I have no luxury; I spend no money on myself; I have neither mistresses, nor *mignons,* nor favorites: no one leads me, and in fact every one is so well-off here, that the French officers, whom I am obliged to send away, find fault because they cannot remain at Naples. Read this, my good Julie, to mama and to Caroline, because they are anxious; . . . recall to mama that, at all the epochs of my life, as an obscure citizen, as a farmer, as a magistrate, I have always sacrificed with pleasure my time to my duties."

Joseph certainly was pleased with himself, and the hangers-on by whom he was surrounded were equally content. All of his Parisian friends, who had flocked to Naples, were unceasing in their songs of praise. Undoubtedly, he had no "mignons," but the "no mistresses" was for Julie! Like all the Bonapartes, Joseph was a great lover, and he could not exist without women. "Every evening," writes M. Masson,[3] "there came to the salon of His Majesty, upon his invitation, the ladies the best born, and above all the most amiable and the most youthful," of his Court. A brave soldier, who was a member of his household, said: "He had all the gallantry of Henri-

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[3] 4 Masson, 61.

Quatre." He was perhaps more courteous than the *Vert Galant,* but he was equally ardent. To one of his flames he wrote, "Since yesterday every hour seems to me composed of sixty months." "But he is a king," continues M. Masson, "and it costs a king dearly to be a lover, even if he is, like Joseph, of amiable character, of handsome face, and of noble form. Besides, is he not magnificent in everything he imagines, and can he afford to be stingy toward those he loves?"[4]

Joseph's claims of "moderation and economy," moreover, do not harmonize very well with his eight palaces, erected by the Bourbon kings, which were maintained on a scale of luxury comparable only with that of the Tuileries, with a regular army of valets de pied, valets de chambre, ushers, suisses, chefs, and maîtres d'hôtel; not to mention the scores of chamberlains, écuyers, aides de camp, pages, and dames du palais. The expenses of his household alone consumed one hundred thousand ducats a month, or nearly twelve million francs a year!

Joseph aspired to be a patron of literature and the arts. He founded a royal academy of history and antiquities, which he endowed with an income of ten thousand ducats; he also established a University of the Kingdom, a University of Naples, besides schools and colleges everywhere; and maintained "the second Théâtre-Français of Europe."

To preserve order, suppress the brigandage in the southern provinces, and repel the invasions from Sicily, he had an army of 40,000 men, of whom nearly all were French. With the losses from all causes, in two years Naples cost the Emperor 30,000 men.

Under the pretext that Masséna cost him too dearly, Joseph demanded of the Emperor the recall of this marshal, who had won him his kingdom, and showed his appreciation by giving Masséna nothing — neither a title nor a decoration. The Emperor offered to send Macdonald to replace Masséna, demanding for him from Joseph the payment of his regular salary of 40,000 francs, but the conditions proposed by the King were so unsatisfactory that the marshal declined the post. Macdonald, therefore, did not come, and no other commander of the first order was willing to be assigned to Naples. All of the able French generals were sent home, or departed of their own accord, utterly disheartened; only Reynier remained, to complete the pacification and save Joseph from a dishonorable withdrawal. Finally, Reynier also left, and was replaced by a Neapolitan. With a native in command of the French troops, there was no longer any danger of complaints reaching the Emperor.

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[4] 4 Masson, 62.

Marshal Jourdan was kept for the parades, and for nothing else, for he was absolutely useless, as he had proved on every occasion during the past ten years. Why Napoleon ever made him a marshal of France, or assigned him to Joseph as a military adviser, it is difficult to state.[5]

Joseph himself, as lieutenant of the Emperor, was nominally commander-in-chief of the French army, but he was absolutely ignorant of military affairs, and no one had any respect for him, or paid any attention to his orders, unless they knew that they came from the Emperor.

Napoleon was also constantly called on to furnish money, as well as men. The exact figures are unknown, but M. Masson estimates the amount at not less than thirty millions for the two years that Joseph remained at Naples.[6] All this, to Joseph, seemed entirely natural and proper. He had acquired nothing by his own efforts: everything had come to him. Therefore, if he had need of money or men, who should supply them if not the Emperor?

To sum up, in the words of M. Masson, Joseph was " full of good intentions; he was amiable; he had common sense; he was liberal; in his royal costume, he appeared well, and was at ease. The long ermine mantle suited him, and he knew how to wear it better than the kings, after ten generations. In comparison with the Bourbon who reigned at Palermo, which one seemed the parvenu! He was gallant, but without scandal; he had no hidden vices; and if his fêtes were magnificent, was that not royal?"[7]

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[5] As commander of the Army of the North, he had defeated the Austrians at Fleurus in June 1794; but since then he had been unsuccessful in every position he held, being defeated on five different occasions.

[6] See 4 Masson, 72.

So much for Joseph's good qualities. On the other hand, he was lazy, in spite of his complaints of over-work. He had a childish vanity, which he never overcame to the last day of his life. He pestered Napoleon with plans for a Neapolitan decoration, to rival the Légion d'honneur of France. After several disapprovals, the Emperor finally gave his consent when they met at Venice in December 1807.

All of this time, Julie had remained in France, notwithstanding the often repeated orders of the Emperor for her to rejoin her husband at Naples. Under the pretext of ill-health, unfavorable weather for so long a journey, or a dozen other excuses, she always managed to defer her departure.

In the case of Louis, the Emperor was not so well satisfied. Notwithstanding his experience with this young man during the campaign of 1805, Napoleon could not reconcile himself to the fact that his favorite brother, whom he regarded as his military pupil, should continue to play such an insignificant rôle, and be so useless in his system. In fact, it took many years for the Emperor to realize the profound change which the physical condition of Louis had made in his *moral.*

At the opening of the campaign against Prussia, in October 1807, the Emperor gave Louis the command of the Army of the North, composed of French and Holland troops, and destined to make an offensive diversion in Westphalia. On the 18 September, Louis returned to Holland from Wiesbaden and Aix, where he had been taking the baths for two months; he took charge of the organization of the two divisions which were being assembled in the camp at Utrecht, and made his preparations to proceed to Wesel to take command of the combined army.

From the first, Louis was in conflict with his brother regarding the organization of his army: he wanted a Hollander for his second in command, and also for his chief of artillery. Finally, he wrote the Emperor (24 September) that he was afraid that his health would compel him to relinquish the command, and Napoleon named Michaud to succeed him, in that eventuality.

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[7] 4 Masson, 75.

Louis had hardly arrived at Wesel, on the 7 October, before he became panic-stricken, as he had been the previous year, and called to his assistance the troops in Paris, the National Guards of three of the northern departments, and the larger part of the corps of Marshal Mortier. Mortier, however, refused to conform to these orders. After the battle of Jena, the Emperor directed Louis to take possession of Cassel, imprison the elector, and disarm his troops. In a subsequent order from Berlin (31 October) Napoleon wrote that, as the mission against Hesse-Cassel was "somewhat delicate," he hoped Louis had not taken charge of it in person, and that it should be carried out by Mortier. This order, Louis violated absolutely: he refused to let Mortier have a division of Holland troops, as directed by the Emperor, and proceeded himself to Cassel. When Napoleon learned of this infraction of his orders, he was very angry, and reprimanded Louis severely. Finding, at last, that it was impossible to expect any cordial coöperation from Louis, on the 9 November the Emperor wrote him to turn over his command to Marshal Mortier, and return to Holland. He attributed the departure of Louis solely to the state of his health, writing him: "Endeavor to keep well, and never doubt my friendship."

On his return to The Hague, Louis resumed his former mode of life, giving audiences, visiting the picture galleries, and reading the new books which he received from France. He did not seem to be displeased at the absence of Hortense, who was still at Mayence with her mother.

In his message of the 5 December to Their High Mightinesses, he gave his version of the late campaign: "Our troops were united to the Grand Army. . . . It was to them that were surrendered the only two remaining strong-places that Prussia held in Germany; the combined army occupied the whole of

Westphalia and all the country this side of the Weser; Ost-Frise is to-day occupied by our troops and in our name." In this same message he promised great administrative reforms, colossal public works, the regeneration of the finances, and two orders of chivalry. Two days later, he decreed the establishment of the grade of marshal of Holland, and that of colonel-general.

On the 11 December, Louis issued his decree instituting the two orders of chivalry: the grand order of the Kingdom, called the Order of the Union, and the Ordre Royal du Mérite. Finally, he revived the titles of nobility, and, in March 1807, began to bestow their titles upon the former nobles.

In taking these steps, Louis was not actuated so much by a desire to imitate the Court of the Tuileries, as by the determination to develop in Holland a spirit of nationality and loyalty. This fact is clearly proved by his neglect to enforce the Continental System, decreed by the Emperor; by his tolerating commercial relations with England; and by his refusal to succor the Holland troops attached to the Grand Army.

When these decrees of the King of Holland became known to the Emperor, he expressed his surprise, and his disapproval in no uncertain terms. He wrote Louis on the 2 January 1807, "Do you think that a French general of division would like to be commanded by a Holland marshal?" Five days later he wrote: "If you have not appointed your marshals, do not name them: there is no person in Holland capable of filling so eminent a post." Again, regarding the orders of chivalry, the Emperor said: "You proceed too quickly and too thoughtlessly; . . . if you have not named these orders, let the matter rest." But Louis had already appointed his marshals, and his only concession was to consolidate his two orders into one: the Royal Order of Holland.

More than anything else, the revival of the noble titles had excited the wrath of the Emperor, and Louis had the audacity to deny that he ever had any such intention!

Notwithstanding all of these acts of independence and of insubordination, the Emperor wrote Joseph, on the 4 May: "I am quite well satisfied with Louis. . . . It is not that he pays much attention to the advice I give him, but I do not cease to repeat it; and experience in the long run will teach him that he has erred in many of the things that he has done."

In all of Napoleon's reprimands his anger was simulated rather than real; and he had not lost his faith in the good intentions of Louis. His idea was to push his brother to greater exertions; but his words had just the opposite effect on the jealous and suspicious nature of Louis.

The breach between the two brothers was widened further by the constant quarrels between Louis and Hortense. After her visit with him to Aix, she returned to The Hague on the 28 September. Louis had counted upon her remaining in Holland during his absence with the army, but Napoleon had other plans. Joséphine had gone with her Court to Mayence, and the Emperor expressed his wish that Hortense should join her mother. This was equivalent to an order; so Hortense, this time accompanied by her two sons, arrived at Mayence on the 12 October. She found there her cousin Stéphanie of Baden, and several friends of her school days. She visited Darmstadt and Frankfort; attended the dinners, concerts, and balls given by the Empress; received the homage of the South German princes; and was very happy and contented.

In nearly all of his letters to Joséphine, Napoleon sent his love to Hortense, and to his favorite nephew, whom he calls "Monsieur Napoléon." Joséphine was anxious to rejoin Napoleon, and he held out the hope that she might be accompanied by Hortense, writing on the 26 November: "I shall be much pleased to have the Queen of Holland take the trip." With this in mind, Hortense refused to return to The Hague, although Louis had sent a detachment of cavalry to escort her; and there was an exchange of very bitter letters. She finally sent the younger child to his father, and remained at Mayence with the other boy, to await the orders of the Emperor.

In the meantime, Napoleon had reached Warsaw, and was taken up with his affair with the charming Marie Walewska.[8]

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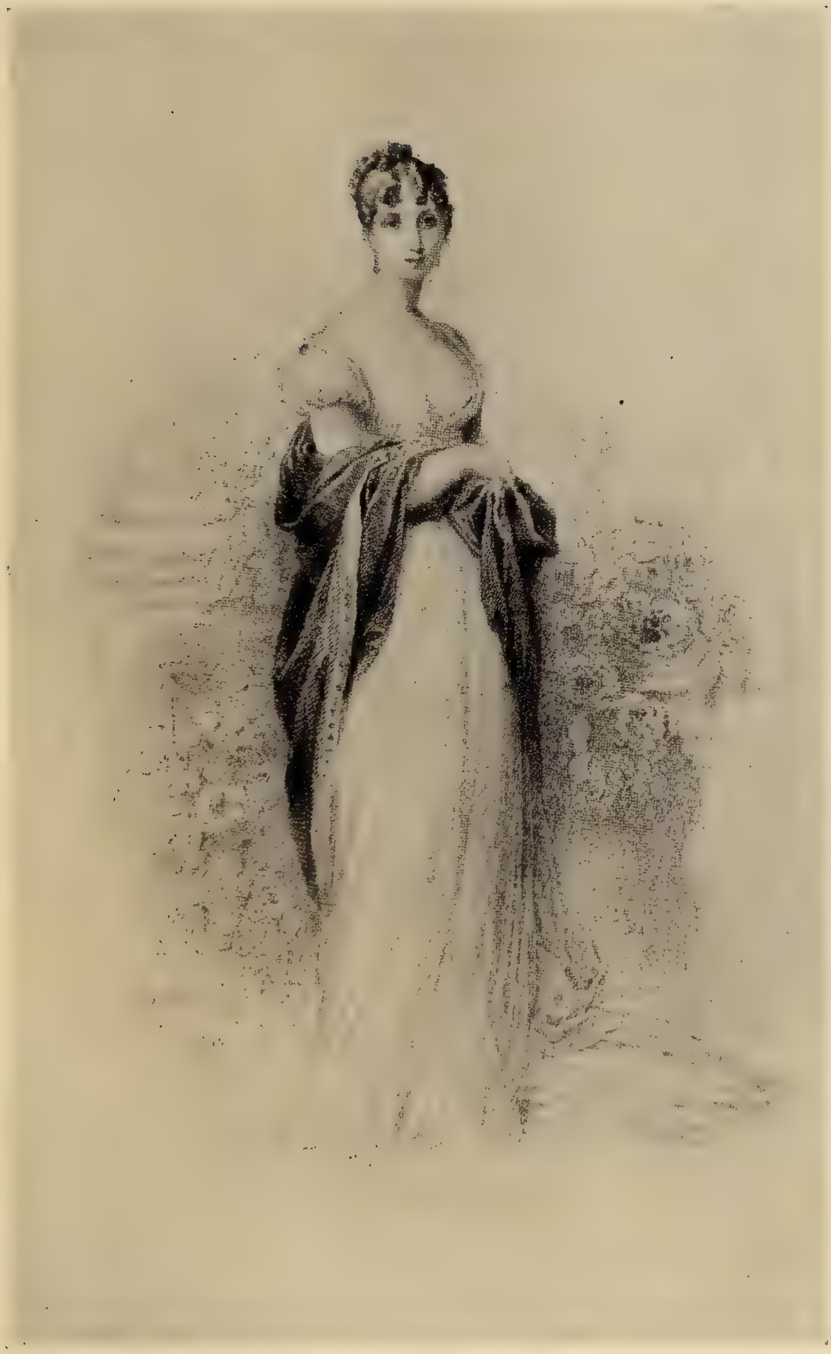
[8] See *Napoleon and Joséphine,* 213 *et seq.*



QUEEN HORTENSE

He no longer wanted Joséphine to join him, and finally ordered her to return to Paris. At the same time, Hortense was directed to rejoin her husband at The Hague. The Empress accordingly left for Paris, on the 26 January, and Hortense set out for Holland, arriving at The Hague on the evening of the 29 January. Except for a week in October, she had been absent from her capital seven months.

Upon her return to The Hague, Hortense displayed some evidences of her intention to remain there, and to try to please her husband. She gave several balls, and appeared with the King at all of the Court ceremonies. Suddenly, the new accord between the royal couple was disturbed by an attack of jealousy on the part of Hortense. This new quarrel broke out at a moment when Joséphine imagined that Louis and his wife were on very cordial terms, as is shown by her letter to Hortense: "If you wish me to be perfectly happy, give me the hope of having in nine months a granddaughter."

The cause of this new misunderstanding was a certain Madame Huyghens, whom Louis had appointed a maid of honor, without consulting Hortense, during her absence at Mayence. Her husband, who was a great-nephew of the celebrated astronomer of the same name, was at that time the minister of Holland to Denmark. The lady, who was young, pretty, and coquettish, was descended illegitimately from the royal families of Denmark and of France.

After the return of Louis, he showed Mme. Huyghens many attentions, and gave her a distinguished position at his Court. At the same time, he sent her husband from Copenhagen to Warsaw, on a confidential mission to the Emperor, to solicit an increase of territory.

On inquiry, Hortense learned that Mme. Huyghens had had several lovers as a young girl, and had borne a bad reputation in Denmark. These facts seemed to be proved by a private investigation which Hortense had made at Copenhagen, and she demanded the dismissal of the lady. Separated violently from her husband, Mme. Huyghens took refuge in France, where she died of grief and misery, in an obscure retreat where she found refuge.

Louis was very much offended, and took his revenge by making his wife's existence as miserable as possible. Hortense was subjected to a continual espionage, and her every act was criticised. Hardly a day passed without a violent scene between them.

These disputes were so public that they became known to the Emperor in the depths of Poland, and he wrote Louis: "You lead a young wife as you would conduct a regiment. You have the best and the most virtuous of wives, and you make her miserable. Let her dance as much as she wants to: it is her age. I have a wife of forty; yet, from the field of battle, I write her to go to balls; and you wish a wife of twenty . . . to live in a cloister. . . . Make the mother of your children happy. There is only one way: show her much esteem and confidence. Unfortunately, you have a wife who is too virtuous: if she were a coquette, she would lead you by the end of your nose."

With the best of intentions, Napoleon certainly made a mistake in interfering with these family quarrels. He only excited the suspicion and the resentment of Louis, and did not help Hortense. But he regarded them both as his children, and wished to see them happy and harmonious.

At this time the health of Louis was deplorable. He was hardly able to walk, and had almost lost the use of his right hand. To escape from himself, and above all from his wife, he was continually making short trips from his capital. On his return from one of these journeys (29 April), he found the little Napoleon ill. The best physicians of Holland were called in consultation, and even Corvisart was summoned from Paris. But the child continued to get worse, and at ten o'clock on the night of the 5 May, Napoleon-Charles passed away. His death was due to the croup, a malady but little understood at the time.

No words can describe the despair of Hortense: she seemed petrified with grief, and they were afraid that she would lose her reason. Joséphine rushed from Paris, but did not dare to go beyond the borders of the Empire without permission of the Emperor. From the château of Laeken, near Brussels, she wrote Hortense on the night of the 14 May, and her daughter joined her there the following evening, accompanied by Louis, and their only remaining child, Napoleon-Louis, who was then two years and a half old.

The news was sent to Napoleon in Poland, by a special courier, and from Finckenstein he wrote Joséphine and Hortense nine letters of consolation, between the 14 May and the 16 June. Although he dearly loved the little prince, and his death was a severe blow, the letters of Napoleon seem cold, and almost heartless.[9] His repeated injunctions, to a mother stupefied with grief, and a grandmother almost equally overcome, were to be "gay," and to seek "diversions." In his letters to others, however, he displayed more feeling. To Fouché he wrote: "I have been much afflicted by the misfortune which has befallen me. I had hoped for a more brilliant destiny for this poor child." To Monge: "I thank you for all that you say regarding the death of the poor little Napoleon: it was his destiny!"

After a brief stay at Laeken, Hortense accompanied her mother to Malmaison, while Louis returned to The Hague, leaving his son at Brussels. From The Hague, on the 20 May, for the first and perhaps the only time in his life, Louis wrote Joséphine an intimate and affectionate letter, in which he also showed much tenderness for his wife. "Since the fatal day of the 5 May," he said, "I have only one thought, one anxiety: the health and the conservation of the Queen. . . . I am surrounded by the places in which my children lived, and by the souvenirs of Napoleon: I cannot take a step without recalling a remembrance, a recent occasion, when I held him in my arms, when I was witness of his games and his vivacity."

As he could not endure the sad memories of The Hague, Louis went to Loo, and was contemplating a trip through his dominions, when he received the Emperor's letter of the 15

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[9] See *Napoleon and Joséphine,* 227 *et seq.*

May, authorizing him to go to the South of France. To judge by the reply of Louis, under date of the 29th, the letter of Napoleon must have been very kind and affectionate, but its contents are unknown.[10]

After a brief stay at Malmaison, Hortense departed for the South of France, with a small suite of five ladies, and only one écuyer. Her son was still at Laeken, where Louis was to stop for him in passing and conduct him to the Empress at Malmaison.

From Bordeaux, where she arrived on the 30 May, Hortense proceeded in a few days to Bagnères, and then to Cauterets, where she began seriously to take the waters. Here she was soon rejoined by Louis, and they resumed their life in common. Louis had left Loo on the 30 May; picked up his son at Brussels, and conducted him to Malmaison; then proceeded to the South, where, after a short sojourn at Eaux-Bonnes, he decided to go to Cauterets.

As usual, Louis soon became restless at Cauterets, and set out on the 6 July for Ussat, where he had heard of some "marvellous waters," which he had not yet tried. Hortense remained at Cauterets, where her health improved to such an extent that she made many excursions in the neighborhood, visiting Pau, Lourdes, Bayonne, Barèges, and many other places.

During the last days of her sojourn at Cauterets, Hortense received a visit from Monsieur C. A. Verhuell, recently appointed by Louis as minister to Spain. He was at Barèges, en route for his post, and came to pay his respects to his Queen. On such slight grounds as this, the venomous tongue of slander has attributed the parentage of Louis-Napoleon, born at Paris nine months later, to his *brother,* Admiral Carel-Hendrick Verhuell, who was then at his post of Minister of the Marine, in Holland!

About this same date, Hortense also gave an audience to a

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[10] It is not given in the *Correspondance;* and Louis, who took pains to publish all the severe and critical letters of the Emperor, is careful not to give this one in his memoirs.

Monsieur Decazes, who called to solicit her interest in obtaining a position in Holland. He is only mentioned here because the paternity of Hortense's third son has also been attributed falsely to him.

The first week in August, Louis finished his course of treatment, and on the 11 August he was rejoined by Hortense at Toulouse, where they again resumed their conjugal life.[11] Three days later they set out for Paris, but travelled so slowly that they did not reach Saint-Cloud until the evening of the 27 August.

On their return from the South, Louis and Hortense seemed to be on better terms than at any period since their marriage. Hortense stayed at Saint-Cloud, where she took part in all of the diversions of the Court, while Louis went to his Paris house, Rue Cerutti. On the 13 September it was known that the Queen was enceinte; she could not accept the invitation of the Emperor to join his party at Rambouillet, "à cause d'un commencement de grossesse qui la rend très souffrante."

Louis was now ready to depart for Holland, and wished to take Hortense with him. But Joséphine, who was worried over the thinness and the cough of her daughter, called a consultation of physicians, and they decided that the Queen could not stand the rigor of a Holland winter, in her present condition. The Emperor therefore gave orders for Hortense and her son to remain in Paris, and Louis set out alone, "with rage in his heart."

It has been stated that Caroline at this time aroused the suspicions of Louis regarding the paternity of his child, but this is doubtful. "With the meticulous precision which he gave to all the events connected with his health, he had recorded the dates, and there was nothing in that to disturb him."[12] At least, he had no suspicions of Decazes, whom he took with him to Holland, and loaded with honors.

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[11] This date is important, because, according to the testimony of Corvisart, the accoucheur at the birth of Louis-Napoleon (20 April 1808), the child came into the world nearly a month too soon. He showed such weakness at his birth, that it was necessary to employ wine baths, and wrap him in cotton, in order to revive him. (See 4 Masson, 334.)

[12] 4 Masson, 152.

On the 20 September, Louis took his departure, and the following day Hortense arrived at Fontainebleau with her son. At this time she was heavily in debt, owing principally to her passion for buying jewels, and the Emperor came to her assistance by giving her an allowance of one hundred thousand francs a year.

The middle of October, Hortense was disturbed over the publication in the *Journal de l'Empire* of an apparently official notice, reading, " We are assured that the Queen of Holland will soon return to her States." On inquiry of Fouché she learned that this item had been inserted by Madame at the request of Louis. She appealed to the Emperor, who ordered a formal denial published (30 October), in which it was stated that her Majesty the Queen of Holland was *grosse de trois mois,* and that her physicians thought she could not travel for several months.

During the Prussian campaign, Murat fairly surpassed himself: his pursuit of the defeated army after Jena was the most extraordinary in history. In three weeks he all but literally galloped from the Saale to the Baltic, with a large force of cavalry, sweeping up the remnants of the Prussian Army, and capturing all of the fortresses as he passed. On the 7 November, he stormed Lübeck, and forced Blücher, the last to hold out, to surrender with 20,000 men.

At Warsaw, Murat had the dream of exchanging his saddle for a throne, but he was to have a rude awakening. The enthusiastic Poles, who welcomed the Emperor as a "liberator," asked of him a king of his family, in order to be assured of his protection. Murat was full of hope, and thought that he held his kingdom in his hand. When he appeared in full Polish uniform at Tilsit, for the interview on the Niemen, the Emperor said to him: " Go and put on your uniform of a general officer; you have the air of a Franconi! "[13]

Murat was greatly disappointed to see his vision fade away;

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[13] The name of a celebrated family of Italian riding-masters, who conducted a circus at Paris.

but he had no one to blame except himself. The Emperor had not forgotten his tirade regarding Wesel.

Napoleon was also well-informed of the actions of his ambitious sister Caroline, at Paris. On the 2 December she had taken possession of the palace of the Élysée, newly furnished, and was entertaining lavishly. In the absence of the Empress, who was still at Mayence, she was the representative of the Imperial Court. She had formed a liaison with Junot, the governor of Paris, and was on very intimate terms also with Fouché, the Minister of Police. Poland was a long way off; accidents in war are always possible; Joseph was at Naples, and Louis at The Hague; if anything happened to the *king*, she held the *knaves* in her hand!

No one was ever more attentive to the persons they hated most than Caroline. After the return of Joséphine, she was all smiles and caresses. On the fête of Saint-Joseph (19 March), she played a comedy for the Empress at Malmaison. As soon as she heard of the death of the little Napoleon, she rushed to The Hague, to console Louis, whom she loved little, and Hortense, whom she detested. But Tilsit put an end to her labors: the fortunes of war had again favored Napoleon, and she was forced to await another opportunity.

After the return of Murat to Paris, he had a quarrel with the Emperor over the question of his rank at Court, claiming that, as a sovereign grand-duke, he should take precedence of Bacciochi and Borghèse. Napoleon replied, "Your rank in my palace is fixed by your rank in my family, and that is fixed by the rank of my sister."

This discussion was followed by long negotiations over the augmentation of his territory, claimed by Murat. The matter was not settled until the last of January 1808, when the Emperor ceded to Murat several parcels, which increased his State to a population of over a million; but Murat in turn was forced to recede Wesel to the Empire, and several districts to Holland. He would have done better to have yielded sooner, and not to have prolonged for over five months his haggling over Wesel, for his course produced a very unfavorable impression on the

Emperor. And yet, Napoleon, after all of his experience with Murat, had failed to size him up. As Murat was obedient, the Emperor considered him devoted; as his brother-in-law talked constantly of his affection and his admiration, Napoleon thought that he was faithful; and perhaps Murat would have been all this had it not been for his wife, who dominated him absolutely.

With his youngest brother, Napoleon also had his troubles, but of a somewhat different character. Finding that Jérôme had some two millions of debts, before his departure from Paris the Emperor made him a loan of 1,800,000 francs, to be repaid in installments; and also advanced him his allowance for the months of November and December.

The inhabitants of the new Kingdom of Westphalia were mainly Hessians, the subjects the most despotically governed in Europe, whose sovereign had sold them to England, to use in subduing her American colonies during the Revolution. To them, Napoleon gave a new constitution, granting them equality under the law, the free exercise of their religions, and abolition of all privileges, collective or individual. The French system of codes, money, weights, and measures, was introduced. The administrative organization, and the judiciary, were French, and the conscription was established. This new régime was not only progressive, it was like the passage from night to day; but, as later in Spain, the people had no use for it.

Leaving Paris on the 22 November 1807, the young sovereigns made a short visit at Stuttgart, and arrived on the 7 December at Cassel, where they were received with much enthusiasm by their new subjects.

Jérôme, however, had no more than received the first six months of his Civil List, and had advanced to him the six following months, than the financial situation of his kingdom appeared to him critical. With the cost of maintaining the French troops, there was an apparent deficit for the year 1808 of nine millions. Worse still, Daru, from Berlin, demanded a sum of over thirty-five millions for the arrears in the maintenance of the Grand Army. Jérôme accordingly had recourse to the Jews, borrowing at first two millions at eight per cent.

His next act was to dismiss the French ministers, whom the Emperor had named as a kind of regency, to take charge of affairs pending his arrival. In their place, he named Lecamus, Reubell, and others of his particular friends. This brought him at once into conflict with the Emperor, who refused to recognize these new officials. "What has Lecamus done?" wrote the Emperor. "He has rendered no service to the Fatherland — only to your person. . . . I have marshals who have won ten battles, who are covered with wounds, and who have not received the rewards that you give to Lecamus. Services rendered to you personally are not services rendered to the king or the kingdom of Westphalia. . . ." And Napoleon concludes with these words, which recur constantly in his letters to Jérôme: "You must not imagine that the kingdom of Westphalia is an estate. I shall have wars to sustain you; and I anticipate that, in the balance, instead of your being an advantage, I shall have a drain upon my resources."

To these reproaches, which were well founded, Jérome replied, as he had done in Silesia, by protestations of affection and devotion; but continued nevertheless to follow his own bent. "Your Majesty will find in me the most affectionate and the most devoted of brothers," he writes. Again: "Can I ever forget, Sire, that my first and finest title is that I am a Frenchman, and the brother of Your Majesty?"

In spite of these troubles with Jérôme, which the Emperor could attribute to the youth and inexperience of his brother, he felt on the whole well satisfied with the début of the new reign. The French monetary system had been introduced; the administration was organized on the French model; the burdensome taxes on the Jews were abolished; the Continental blockade was rigorously enforced. In two months, the Imperial system had gained more ground in Westphalia, than in two years at Naples or in Holland.

The situation in the Napoleonic States, created through the spirit of the clan, and designed to extend and support the Imperial power, may thus be summed up in the spring of 1808: At Naples, a whirlpool, which constantly devours men and money; at The Hague, almost open rebellion; at Düsseldorf, the rumblings of revolt; at Cassel, disaffection. At Naples, it requires forty thousand French troops to maintain Joseph on his throne; in Holland, Louis has made himself popular by embracing all of the national quarrels against France; in Westphalia, there is every prospect that, at the first opportunity, the nation will rise against Jérôme. Everywhere, in place of an advantage gained — an open breach; instead of an ally — a protégé who may become an enemy. And yet, up to the present moment, only States of the second class have been brought within the Imperial system. What will be the outcome if the Emperor persists in his conception of dominating the Continent by his system of buffer States, ruled by kings of his blood; if he attempts to apply it to nations which rival France in population and resources, if not in glory? [14]

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[14] *Cf.* 4 Masson, 195–196.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

JUNE 1806 — JANUARY 1809

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN

The Spanish Bourbons — Intrigues of Godoy — Beauharnais, Ambassador to Madrid — The Treaty of Fontainebleau — Junot Occupies Lisbon — Napoleon Annexes Northern Spain — Arrest of Ferdinand — Napoleon's Plans — Charles Abdicates — Murat at Madrid — Spain Offered to Joseph, Louis, and Jérôme — They All Refuse — Lucien Decides to Leave Europe — His Interview with Joseph — Murat's Ambitions — His Crafty Policy — Napoleon Offers Him Naples — His Acceptance — His Secret Rage — Joseph Arrives at Bayonne — Abdications of Charles and Ferdinand — Joseph Proclaimed King of Spain — His Course Regarding Naples — Napoleon's Mean Treatment of the Murats — His Misunderstanding of the Spanish Character — Victory of Rio-Seco — Disaster of Baylen — Madrid Abandoned — Surrender of Junot — Napoleon Prepares to Reconquer Spain — Joseph's Military Incapacity — Napoleon Refuses His Abdication — Joseph Reinstated at Madrid — Napoleon Returns to Paris — He Leaves Spain in Chaos

SINCE the Treaty of Bâle in 1795, Spain had remained faithful to the French alliance. During the Consulate she had given her coöperation in many enterprises from which she had nothing to gain and much to lose, and had shown a subserviency to France on every occasion. She had ceded Louisiana; had placed her Army and Navy at the disposal of France; had sent presents of horses, diamonds, pictures, and decorations of the Toison d'or.

Nevertheless, the royal family of Spain could not forget that they were Bourbons, and that they were still bound by many family ties, contracted at an earlier date. A daughter of the King and Queen was the wife of the Prince-Regent of Portugal, against whom, at Badajoz, they had agreed to wage war. Another daughter had married Louis, son of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, whose establishment in Tuscany, as King of Etruria, was part of the bargain by which France obtained Louisiana. Ferdinand the Fourth, of Naples, was the brother of Charles the Fourth, of Spain, and also the father of the princess who had espoused his heir, the Prince of the Asturias: this made it very embarrassing for Spain to recognize Joseph as King of the Two-Sicilies.

On every side, therefore, the family policies were in opposition to the French alliance, which had brought only sacrifices, financial and maritime, and the loss of the Spanish colonies, seized by the English.

For many years Spain had been in a state of decline, and the great empire of Charles-Quint had fallen to the rank of a second-class Power. The sovereignty at this time was divided between an incapable king, a dissolute queen, and an insolent favorite (Godoy). The fourth member of this group was Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, who was constantly in opposition to his father, and who was also on bad terms with his mother and her lover.

Godoy, "the Prince of the Peace," had made every possible effort to gain the favor of Napoleon, who treated him with the utmost contempt. He therefore sought support in other quarters. The Prussian and Russian ministers at Madrid informed him of the formation of a powerful coalition against France (June 1806), and predicted the coming downfall of Napoleon. Godoy listened eagerly to these words, and in July Spain began secretly to prepare for war. At the beginning of hostilities between France and Prussia, in October, Godoy issued a proclamation calling upon all Spaniards to take up arms against an enemy who was not designated. A few days later, when the news of the battle of Jena reached Madrid, Godoy rushed to the French embassy to offer his congratulations upon the triumph of the Emperor, and to express his devotion to His Majesty. Napoleon was far from being duped by these protestations: the despatches from the Prussian minister at Madrid had fallen into his hands, and he knew the full extent of Godoy's treachery. But, for the moment, he was compelled to defer his vengeance. He sent as his ambassador to Spain the former émigré François de Beauharnais,[1] who had rallied to his cause, and asked for employment; and instructed his minister to demand a contingent of 18,000 men, for which he designated the finest troops in the Spanish army, to join the Grand Army in Poland. The Emperor also required the Spanish squadron to unite with the French fleet, and insisted upon the rigid enforcement of the Continental System, which he had decreed from Berlin.

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[1] A brother of Joséphine's first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais.

After the indecisive battle of Eylau (February 1807), the Russian minister made another attempt to win over Godoy, promising the restitution of Gibraltar, and the cession of a part of Portugal. But the victory of Friedland (14 June) and the peace of Tilsit put an end to these negotiations before Godoy had come to any decision.

Under one of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon called upon Portugal to enforce the Continental System, under penalty of being declared an enemy. An English squadron was then anchored in the Tagus, and the Government, placed between two fires, could not decide upon what course to pursue. Accordingly, the ambassadors of France and Spain, who were acting in accord, demanded their passports, and left Lisbon, on the 2 October.

On the 27 October, at Fontainebleau, a treaty was signed between France and Spain for the partition of Portugal. Of the six provinces, of which the country was composed, Entre Douro E Mino, including the city of Oporto, was to be erected into a kingdom, under the name of Northern Lusitania, and given in exchange for Tuscany to the little King of Etruria. The two southern provinces of Alemtejo and Algarve were to be assigned to Godoy, with the title of Prince des Algarves. The three important central provinces of Traz oz Montes, Beira, and Estremadura, including the city of Lisbon, were to remain in the possession of France until the conclusion of a general peace.[2]

For several weeks, an army of observation of 25,000 men, under the command of Junot, had been assembled at Bayonne; and ten days before the signing of the treaty these troops were ordered to enter Spain, where they were to be joined by an army of 11,000 Spaniards. On the 13 November, Junot was at Salamanca, where he received an order from the Emperor to hasten his march, in order to anticipate the arrival of the English. After a terrible forced march, Junot arrived before Lisbon on the last day of the month, without cannon or baggage, and with less than two thousand men fit for service. Yet, such was then the terror of the Imperial arms, that this city of 300,000 souls, with a garrison of 14,000 men, supported by the British fleet, surrendered without firing a shot. Before the surrender, the Royal family embarked on the fleet, and sailed for Brazil. During the next few days, the remainder of the French troops arrived, and the country was soon entirely occupied.

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[2] 2 De Clercq, 235.

The treaty signed at Fontainebleau had contained a stipulation that an army of observation forty thousand strong should be concentrated at Bayonne, but it was not to enter Spain unless the British landed in Portugal, and then only in coöperation with the Spanish. However, without any news of the English, and without any notice to Spain, on the 22 November an army corps of 27,500 men, under the command of Dupont, crossed the frontier and went into cantonments along the Douro. This was followed, early in January, by another corps commanded by Moncey. At the same time, other troops were sent to the frontier, and Bayonne became a large camp.

Received everywhere in Spain as friends and allies, the French soon gained possession of all the fortresses in the Northern provinces. Then the Emperor suddenly announced his intention of annexing to the Empire all of Spain north of the Ebro, giving in exchange the whole of Portugal. The Treaty of Fontainebleau thus became "a scrap of paper." Another army corps of 25,000 men, under Bessières, crossed the Bidassoa; and on the 13 March, Murat, invested with the title of lieutenant of the Emperor, installed his headquarters at Burgos.

Even such an ardent admirer of Napoleon as Monsieur Masson questions whether the Emperor acted in good faith in concluding a treaty which practically placed Spain in his power, and thinks that Godoy was caught in a trap.[3]

In the meantime grave events had occurred at Madrid. Ferdinand, the Prince of the Asturias, suspecting that his wife had been poisoned by his mother's favorite, and fearing that Godoy might remove him in order to secure the succession to the throne, formed a plan to overthrow the King, and assure his rights. This plot was revealed to Charles, who placed himself at the head of his guards, and on the night of the 29 October 1807 arrested Ferdinand in his apartment at the Escurial. The French ambassador, Beauharnais, had taken part in this conspiracy, with the hope that Ferdinand would marry his niece, Mlle. Tascher.[4]

Ferdinand was forced to write a very dishonorable letter, betraying his accomplices; after which, on the 5 November, he was set at liberty, and restored to his titles and honors. Two weeks later (18 November) the King wrote a letter to the Emperor, renewing and confirming a request previously made by his son that Napoleon should furnish the prince with a spouse from the Imperial family. This letter was received by the Emperor at Milan, and at that time he seems to have considered seriously the idea of attaching Spain to his system by a family alliance. Unfortunately, the refusal of Lucien to meet his wishes, forced him to abandon this plan, and he finally decided to substitute his dynasty for that of the Bourbons in Spain.

Napoleon's final decision was not reached until about the 10 January, after his return to Paris, when he received Joseph's letter of the 31 December, announcing that Lucien had refused all of the offers made him, and put off the departure of Charlotte. At that date, the corps of Dupont and Moncey, 56,000 strong, were already in Spain, and 12,000 troops, under Duhesme, were marching to join them. The orders for the movements of these three corps must have been issued before the end of October, and it is not easy to reconcile this fact, either with the treaty of Fontainebleau (27 October), or the propositions made to Lucien in December. These troops certainly were not intended for use in Portugal, and Napoleon's intention may simply have been to establish a *march,* or borderland, in Spain, north of the Ebro, for the protection of the line of the Pyrenees, as he had formed a similar barrier in Southern Germany, to defend the line of the Rhine.[5]

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[3] See 4 Masson, 205.

[4] She later married Prince d'Aremberg.

Alarmed at the course of events, the Court fled from Madrid to Aranjuez, where the King was seriously considering the idea of following the example of the royal family of Portugal, and leaving the country. When this plan became known, there was a popular uprising, to prevent his departure, and on the 19 March Charles abdicated in favor of his son. As soon as Murat heard this news, he hastened his march on the capital, and entered Madrid on the 23 March. The following day, Ferdinand arrived, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the people.

A very remarkable letter from the Emperor to Murat, under date of the 29 March, is published in the *Mémorial,* in which Napoleon shows a perfect grasp of the situation in the Peninsula, and predicts with almost prophetic exactitude the danger involved in arousing the patriotic sentiments of the nation.[6]

This letter differs so widely from others written about the same time, and is so little in accord with the policy later adopted by the Emperor, that it is difficult to believe that it is genuine. For example, Napoleon wrote Louis on the 27 March:

"My brother, the King of Spain has abdicated; the Prince of Peace has been imprisoned. An insurrection has broken out at Madrid. . . . The Grand-Duke of Berg should have entered there on the 23d, with forty thousand men. Up to this hour, the people call me with loud cries. Being certain that I shall never have a solid peace with England except by making a great move on the Continent, I have resolved to place a French prince on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you. . . . I am thinking of you for the throne of

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[5] See *Napoleon and Marie-Louise,* 1–2.

[6] This letter is quoted in full, 2 Jomini, 371–374. Rose (2,153) thinks that it was a forgery; also Lord Rosebery (10–12); Thiers, however, concludes from all the evidence that it was genuine, but was never sent, being suppressed by Napoleon after receipt of Murat's letter of the 24th.

Spain. . . . Reply to me categorically: If I name you King of Spain, will you accept? "

The answer of Louis was " No! " The grounds for his refusal are unknown, as his letter has never been found.

There is reason to believe that the Emperor had previously offered Spain to Joseph, about the 20 February, at the time that Murat was sent to take command of the army; but the offer was refused because Napoleon wished to annex to the Empire all of the territory north of the Ebro. This, however, is only a surmise, based largely on the fact that on the 13 March (the date upon which he could have received Joseph's reply), Napoleon gave Julie peremptory orders to join her husband at Naples.[7]

Rebuffed by Joseph and Louis, the Emperor turned to Jérôme, who also declined, because his wife was a Protestant, and would not consent to change her religion. In a letter to her father, Catherine said: " The throne [of Spain] has been offered to the King: if he had accepted it, I should have found myself in the unfortunate perplexity of choosing between my husband and my religion. Happily, there is no longer question of this project, and they are going to adopt another plan: it will be given to Lucien — the matter is almost settled. The kings of Naples and of Holland have also refused."

This information was entirely correct, except the reference to Lucien, between whom and Napoleon the breach was wider than at any previous moment. On the 11 March, Joseph had written the Emperor: " Lucien is acting badly at Rome . . . I beg you to write him to retire to Florence or Pisa. . . . His conduct has been scandalous: he declares himself my enemy, and that of France. If he persists in these sentiments, there is no refuge for him except in America."

By a remarkable coincidence, Lucien had just decided upon the very course suggested by Joseph in his letter. If not actually ruined, so much of his property was in real estate and paintings that he was short of ready money. To enable him to leave Europe, therefore, he levied a tax of 200,000 francs on each member of his family. There are records to show that the assessment was paid by Joseph, Louis, and Jérôme; and he probably received the same sum from his mother, as well as from each of his three sisters. This gave him a fund of nearly a million and a half for his exile.

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[7] See 4 Masson, 216.

From Rome, Lucien went to Florence, where, the middle of May, he was awaiting the reply of the Emperor, to whom he had notified his plans. This was the time, according to Catherine, that he was offered the throne of Spain, and the matter was "almost settled." As incredible as it may seem, there was nevertheless a grain of truth in the statement.

On the 18 April, the Emperor had once more offered Spain to Joseph, this time without any diminution, but entire, and Joseph had accepted. On receiving his reply, the 10 May, Napoleon wrote Joseph to join him at Bayonne, where he had gone the first of April in order to be in closer touch with affairs. In this letter, Napoleon expressly charged Joseph to see "Senator Lucien," en route, and ascertain his latest decision.

Joseph accordingly saw Lucien at Bologna, where he had come from Florence to meet his brother (27 May). They had a long private conference, during which Joseph, on his own responsibility, offered Lucien in turn the thrones of Portugal and of Naples, both of which he declined to consider. Lucien said that he would prefer a smaller country, like Tuscany, which he could rule independently. He gave Joseph to understand, however, that he might take Westphalia, in case the Emperor transferred Jérôme to Naples.

He also declined a third offer, made by Joseph, of the viceroyalty of Spain, because the Salic law was not in force there, and he did not care to have his children subject to a stranger, in case the daughter of Joseph should marry. "Well!" replied Joseph, "I will give my daughter to your son, and he will reign after me." [8]

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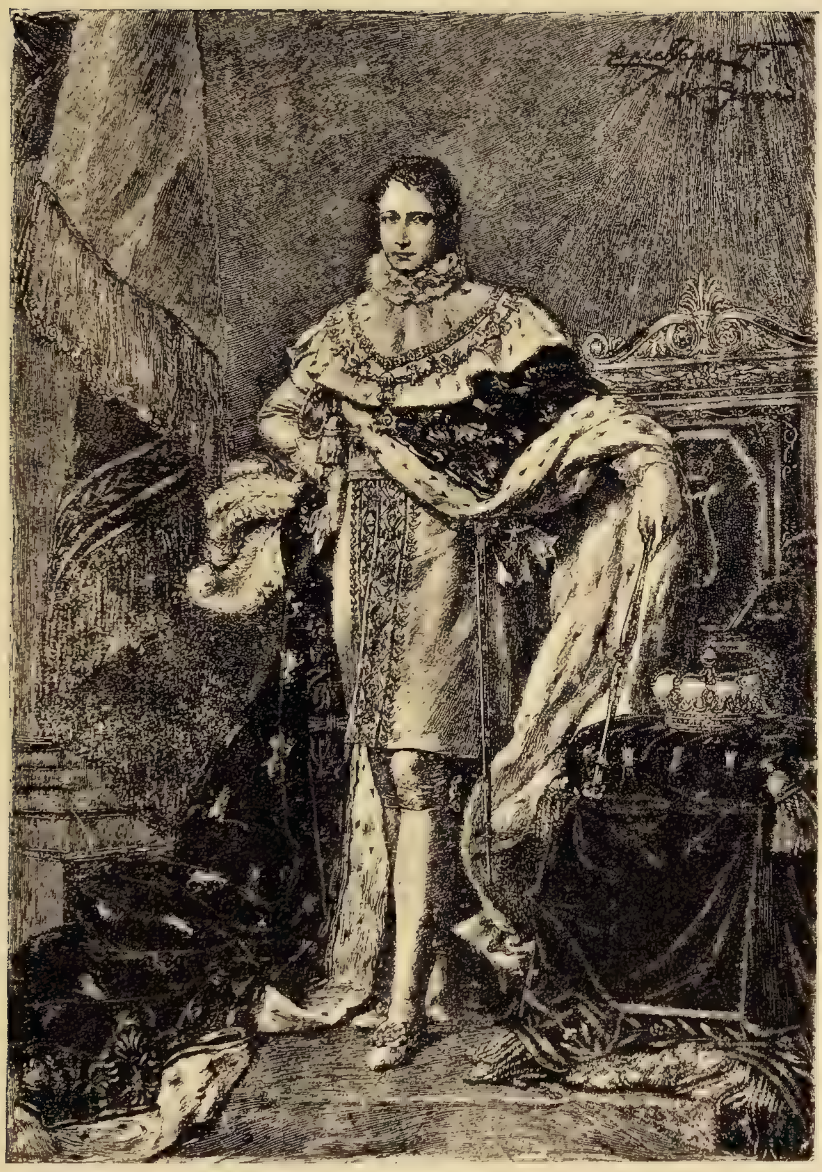
[8] It is a curious fact that this marriage was carried out fourteen years later. Charles, the eldest son of Lucien, married his cousin Zénaïde, at Brussels, 29 June 1822. (See Biographical Notes.)



JOSEPH BONAPARTE

King of Naples, King of Spain, Comte de Survilliers

The brothers also discussed the question of the disposition of the throne of Naples, which they thought would go to Jérôme. They felt sure that Murat would not be chosen, as the Emperor had stated that only his brothers would be given thrones. Napoleon may have said this, but events had led him to change his mind. Murat had so successfully carried out his orders in Spain that the Emperor felt under obligations to reward him: it also seemed impossible for him to defer longer the satisfaction of the ambitions of Caroline.

Murat felt that he had fairly earned the crown of Spain. He had displayed great initiative and much tact in his dealings with the Spaniards: he had avoided all conflict, both with the army and with the population. In his almost daily letters to the Emperor he had suggested the course of action which Napoleon followed step by step. It was he who first proposed the meeting at Bayonne, writing the Emperor: "If Their Catholic Majesties arrive in the midst of the Army, it will be a hostage which insures us the tranquillity of Spain."

Without any instructions from the Emperor, Murat followed the course which he himself had thought out. He persuaded Charles to protest against the occurrences at Aranjuez; to declare that his abdication was forced; and to appeal to the Emperor. He constrained Ferdinand to send back to Junot the Spanish troops recalled from Portugal. Thus, as he wrote the Emperor, "There will really be no Spanish army left, and your Majesty, armed with the abdication, can dispose of Spain." Finally, he decided Ferdinand also to go to Bayonne, to appeal to the Emperor.

Charles and his son departed, the army dispersed, Murat felt himself the absolute master of the situation. The popular uprising, on the 2 May, which he easily suppressed, made his position even stronger than before. "The results of the events of the 2 May," he wrote the Emperor, "assure Your Majesty of decisive success. . . . Your Majesty can dispose of the crown of Spain, and tranquillity will no longer be disturbed."

The services of Murat, as M. Masson says, had been eminent; his mission had been fulfilled beyond all expectations;

but Spain was too large a morsel for a brother-in-law, and rightfully should go to a Bonaparte.[9] If Murat had displayed as much tact and ability in the government of Berg and Cleves, the Emperor might have given him Spain; but the memory of his quarrels over Wesel was too fresh in the mind of Napoleon.

Convinced now of the acceptance of Joseph, on the 2 May, the date of the revolt at Madrid, the Emperor wrote Murat: "I intend to have the King of Naples reign at Madrid. I wish to give you the kingdom of Naples or that of Portugal. Let me know your decision at once, for the matter must be settled in a day. Meanwhile, you will remain as lieutenant-general of the Kingdom. You will tell me that you prefer to remain near me; that is impossible. You have a number of children, and besides, with a wife like yours, you could absent yourself if war should call you to my side: she is entirely capable of being at the head of a regency. Moreover, I will say to you that the kingdom of Naples is much finer than that of Portugal, because Sicily will be joined to it; you will have then six million inhabitants."

On the 5 May, Murat replied: "Sire, I am in receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 2 May, and torrents of tears flow from my eyes as I reply. You have well known my heart when Your Majesty has thought that I would ask to remain near you. . . . Habituated to your kindness, accustomed to see you every day, to admire you, to adore you, to receive everything from you, how can I ever, alone, left to myself, fulfill such extended, and such sacred duties? I feel myself incapable. Please let me remain with you. Power does not always bring happiness. I find it near Your Majesty! Sire, after having expressed to Your Majesty my grief and my desires, I must resign myself, and I place myself at your orders."

A day or two after the receipt of this letter (10 May), Napoleon wrote Joseph to come at once to Bayonne. In his letter he speaks of the eleven million inhabitants of Spain, of the revenues of one hundred and fifty millions, but makes no mention of the throne of Naples. In fact, it was only with the greatest reluctance that he had offered the crown to Murat.

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[9] 4 Masson, 237.

For his part, Murat was terribly disappointed, in spite of his fulsome letter to the Emperor. He was so overcome with rage at seeing the great prize snatched from his hands that he took to his bed, and was ill for several weeks, just at the moment that Napoleon had the greatest need for his services. The whole of Spain had risen in revolt: there was no plot and no accord, but the people were determined to overthrow the new régime which was being set up without their consent. They felt instinctively that their independence was menaced, and they cared little for the fact that Ferdinand had no more Spanish blood in his veins than the Bonapartes. As M. Masson points out: of the sixteen quarterings of his shield, four were Bavarian, three French, and two Polish, with one each derived from Spain, Farnese, Saxony, Brandenburg, Austria, Brunswick, and Savoy.[10] To find his connection with the ancient royal family of Spain, it was necessary for him to go back six generations.[11]

On the 8 June, through his chief of staff, Murat implored the Emperor to send some one to take his place, and Savary arrived a week later; but Murat was not able to leave for Burgos until the 28th. Thus, for four weeks, during the most intense crisis, the Emperor really had no one in charge of affairs in Spain. The commanders of the different army corps, cut off from communication with each other, and in some cases from Madrid, did their best to stem the revolt.

Leaving Naples on the 23 May, two days after receiving the Emperor's letter, Joseph took over two weeks for his journey. He stopped at Bologna for his interview with Lucien; at Turin, to see Pauline; and at several other places, to visit old friends. In the meantime, Napoleon was impatiently awaiting his appearance at Bayonne. Charles had signed his abdication on

[10] 4 Masson, 241.

[11] Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV, of Spain, had married Louis XIV of France, whose grandson, Philip of Anjou, became King of Spain, under the title of Philip V; and Ferdinand was the great-grandson of Philip V.

the 5 May, and Ferdinand, in turn, had abandoned his rights on the 10th. On the 2 June, the Emperor wrote Murat to announce in the *Gazette de Madrid* that Joseph, demanded as King by the Junta, the council of Castile, the city of Madrid, and other bodies, had arrived at Bayonne on the 3d, and would proceed at once to his capital. On the 6 June, Napoleon issued a formal proclamation, presenting his brother as King of Spain and of the Indies. The following day, Joseph finally arrived, and was saluted as king by the grandees, and all the other Spanish delegations then at Bayonne.

But, in spite of the fact that he had formally accepted the throne of Spain, Joseph continued for four weeks to exercise his rights as King of Naples, and to dispose of the resources of his former kingdom for the benefit of his friends and adherents. He undoubtedly had a right to the arrears of his Civil List, amounting to three millions and a half; but he also divided over eleven millions more among some thirty male and five female favorites, the share of the Duchesse d'Atri alone amounting to over two millions! At the same time he awarded four grands cordons of the Légion, and innumerable other decorations. Among his beneficiaries were Jourdan, Regnier, and Rœderer, but Masséna received nothing.

As if this were not enough, on the 20 June he proclaimed, with the approval of the Emperor, a new constitution for Naples, establishing the Salic law, regulating the regency, fixing the allowances of the royal family, determining the grand officers of the Crown, and so on. It looked as though the Bonapartes considered Murat a child, who must be conducted in leading-strings!

On the 5 July, Joseph finally receded the Kingdom of Naples to the Emperor, who in turn transferred it to "Joachim-Napoleon," to date from the first of August. Murat agreed to maintain and execute the constitution already given; to recede Berg to the Emperor, as of the first of August; to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with France, under which he was to furnish, when called upon, a contingent of 21,000 men; and so on.

Having given a kingdom to his dear sister Caroline, Napoleon, who had had enough of her intrigues, did not propose to have her retain any foot-hold at Paris, or to leave her any excuse for visiting his capital. He therefore announced his intention of purchasing all the Murat property in France: the city palace of the Élysée, and their country estates of Neuilly and Villiers. He had already acquired their Hôtel Thélusson (20 May 1808), for the sum of 800,000 francs, and assigned it to the Russian ambassador as a residence. In the case of their other properties, he demanded, not only the buildings and real estate, but also all the furniture and decorations, including the paintings, statuary, and objets d'art. Caroline claimed that she had spent four millions on the Élysée, as much on Neuilly, and estimated that the properties in all were worth sixteen millions. The Emperor at first seemed to acquiesce; then changed his mind, and said that he would pay only ten millions; finally, when it came to signing the contract, he refused to pay any cash, and gave in settlement some Italian property and securities of very doubtful value. Therefore, of all their magnificent property in France, the Murats retained only the cash they had in hand, their jewels, and their personal effects. It was the same with the property they had in the grand-duchy of Berg, from which Murat was allowed to take away only the painting by Gros of the *Battle of Aboukir,* which the Emperor ordered restored to him as a *family picture!*

Caroline, who had come to Bayonne to look after their interests, could not change the Emperor's decision; and no attention was paid to the remonstrances of Murat, who was taking the waters at Barèges.

Although Napoleon had inherited many of his mother's traits, he was ordinarily very generous, and rarely showed her meanness in money matters. One exception was his underhanded course with Pauline, in the repurchase of Guastalla; and another was this deal with the Murats. Pauline, who was really very fond of her great brother, never treasured it up against him, and freely offered him her diamonds in his hour of misfortune. But Caroline and Murat never forgave the Emperor for his treatment of them at this time, and had no scruples about betraying him in 1814. The memory of injuries endured is always more vivid than the recollection of benefits enjoyed!

Of all the constitutions drafted by Napoleon, that given to Spain was the most perfect — the most liberal, and the best adapted to the needs of the nation. It abolished the Inquisition; the remains of the feudal system; the tariff boundaries between the provinces; and closed two-thirds of the monasteries. It substituted for the darkness of the Middle Ages the light of the Nineteenth Century. But the people would have none of it. Their national pride had been wounded by the treatment of their legitimate sovereigns, and their religious fervor aroused by the Emperor's action in depriving the Pope of his temporal throne. If Napoleon had had time to establish firmly the new institutions, Spain to-day would be a far more progressive nation, but time was essential, and this the Emperor could not command.

But little news of the real feeling of the people reached the Emperor in the tranquillity of his cabinet at Marrac. The strong-places of Spain had been occupied without firing a shot; the sovereigns had abdicated voluntarily; the grandees, who represented the country officially, showed the utmost submission — how could Napoleon have any doubts of the success of his enterprise? Holding the capital, he thought that he held the nation; having the assent of the officials, he felt sure of that of the people.

With perfect confidence, and a light heart, Napoleon therefore went ahead and concluded the arrangements necessary for the transfer of the throne to Joseph. There were no burdensome restrictions in favor of France: the offensive and defensive alliance was less severe than that with the Bourbons; the military contingent was fixed at thirty thousand men, and the naval at fifty vessels. Spain was to reimburse France only for the pensions promised the royal family: seven and a half millions to Charles, a million to Ferdinand, and four hundred thousand to each of the three children of the Queen of Etruria. This came to about ten millions, to which was to be added the appraised value of Chambord and Navarre, assigned respectively to Charles and his son as residences.[12]

After spending a full month at Bayonne, on the 9 July the King of Spain left for his capital. The Emperor, with all his suite, conducted his brother to the Bidassoa, on the farther side of which the royal carriages were waiting: seven for the King and his Court, and over sixty for the Spanish officials. The country was supposed to be so tranquil that there was only a guard of honor, composed of fifteen hundred men.

The public reception in Spain was everywhere very cold, but Joseph thought that it was due to the oppressive measures of Bessières, who commanded the Army of the North. At Vittoria, he was still so full of confidence that he hoped to rally to his cause General Cuesta, who barred the route to Madrid with forty thousand troops. The Spanish commander, however, proved deaf to Joseph's overtures, and Bessières, with his small army corps of fourteen thousand men, decisively defeated him at Medina-del-Rio-Seco, on the 14 July. The Spanish army was practically annihilated, losing a thousand killed, six thousand prisoners, all of the artillery and baggage.

On the 17 July, when Napoleon heard of this glorious victory, he wrote: "No battle was ever gained under more important circumstances: it decides the fate of Spain." He told Joseph to signify his satisfaction by sending Marshal Bessières the Golden Fleece.[13]

Then, as if relieved of a great weight, convinced that the last obstacle was removed, the Emperor set out for Paris, where many urgent affairs demanded his attention. But, two weeks later, at Bordeaux, he learned of the disaster of Baylen, the first stain upon the Imperial arms. Dupont, who had penetrated into Andalusia, had been surrounded, and had surrendered his entire army corps on the 22 July.

[12] This part of the agreement was never carried out: Charles objected to the cold of Chambord, and went to reside in the South of France; while Navarre was given by the Emperor to Joséphine after her divorce.

[13] The King never complied with this request.

The corps of Dupont was composed entirely of young conscripts, who had received no preliminary training, and who were commanded by officers recalled from retreat, or just graduated from the military schools.[14] But the Spaniards imagined that the troops who had laid down their arms were the veterans of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, and they now felt that they were invincible. Previously, they had stood in awe of the French forces, and the victory of Bessières had nearly convinced them that resistance to the Imperial arms was impossible. A triumph in the South would probably have led to the complete submission of the Peninsula: now, the work must be begun all over again. Joseph was forced to abandon his capital, and retire beyond the Ebro. His kingdom was reduced to the territory occupied by the French troops.

At the same time, two British forces, of thirty thousand men in all, under Wellesley and Moore, landed in Portugal. Junot was forced to retire to Lisbon, where he surrendered, on very honorable terms, the last of August. By the convention of Cintra, the French army, with all its arms and baggage, was transported to France, without any restrictions.

Joseph, who had retired to Burgos, was so discouraged that he wanted to abandon his new kingdom and return to Naples. On the 9 August, he wrote: "I pray Your Majesty to suspend every operation relative to the Kingdom of Naples. I am convinced that the new arrangements will find in this country more resistance than Your Majesty imagines, and that in the outcome they will bring happiness to no one."

In another letter, five days later, Joseph exposed his views even more plainly, and practically demanded that the Emperor should dispossess Murat of the throne of Naples, in his favor, and find some means of indemnifying that prince. Napoleon simply acknowledged receipt of his letter (27 August), but made no reply. However Joseph might feel about it, the blow to the Imperial prestige was too great for Napoleon to submit without a struggle. He might ultimately abandon this unfortunate enterprise, but only as a conqueror, after subduing the country.

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[14] See 4 Masson, 214.

Before entering Spain at the head of the Grand Army, however, it was necessary for the Emperor to be assured of the stability of the Russian alliance, and to avert at least for a time the menace of a new war with Austria. Therefore Napoleon went to Erfurt to meet Alexander.

At the same time Napoleon began to prepare the public mind for an eventual withdrawal from Spain, without any loss of prestige. To read the address of Champagny to the Senate, one would think that there was no revolt in the Peninsula — only the army of British invaders to expel, and all would be serene. The plan which the Emperor had in mind seems to have been to attach, in one form or another, all of Northern Spain to the Empire, and to consolidate the remainder of the Peninsula into a Kingdom, to be given perhaps to Ferdinand, bound to him by the ties of a family alliance. This wise and statesmanlike policy, Napoleon was prevented from carrying out by the childish obstinacy of his brother Joseph, to whom he finally yielded, as he always did when they came into conflict. To the end, he was to be dominated by the Spirit of the Clan!

Before leaving for Paris, Napoleon had made the great mistake of allowing Joseph to call Jourdan from Naples, to take the command of the forces in Spain, with the title of major-general of the King. In military affairs, Jourdan was incapable, and Joseph himself was contemptible. Between them, they formed a plan for the operations in Spain, which was absolutely condemned by the Emperor. He wrote: "With an army entirely composed of men like those of the Guard, and commanded by the ablest of generals — an Alexander or a Cæsar — if they were capable of committing such imbecilities, one could answer for nothing, and especially under the existing circumstances of the army in Spain." The only thing which saved Joseph from the consequences of his astounding combinations was that none of the marshals paid any attention to his orders. Moncey and Bessières sent back polite replies, but Ney said: "The Emperor has given me an army corps to win victories, not to capitulate. Be sure to tell the King that I have not come here to play the rôle of Dupont."

Such incidents were not calculated to make Joseph love the French generals, but they seem to have turned him even against his brother, and his native land. He did not rebuke one of his ministers who read, at a meeting of the Council, a memorandum advocating an alliance between Spain and England; and even said to an old friend, who could not understand his course: "In Spain, I must be a Spaniard, and maintain the interests of that country, even against those of France, when the two are in conflict."

At this time, Joseph had fallen completely under the influence of an able and intriguing Spanish woman, and he had alienated nearly all of his old friends, who had done so much to make his reign at Naples a comparative success. Under one pretext or another, Salicetti, Rœderer, Girardin, and others had left, and only a few men of inferior ability remained.

After his first meeting with Joseph, at Vittoria on the 5 November, the Emperor said: "I have found the King entirely changed. He has lost his head. He has became wholly king. He wants to be flattered . . . I have told him that he has no military capacity: I have proved it to him; he could not deny the proofs, and yet, at the bottom of his heart, he is wounded. . . . He lacks talents which are necessary: the *coup d'œil,* firmness. The King has much sagacity of mind, but he lacks decision; he has courage, but it is the courage of resistance, and not of activity. . . . Murat is an imbecile, but he has dash and daring!"

Later, at Burgos, Napoleon offered his brother the Kingdom of Italy in exchange for Spain: Joseph's reply was, in effect, *J'y suis, j'y reste!* After a very lively interview with the King the Emperor became convinced that Joseph would never abandon his Kingdom with good grace: he was therefore compelled to give up the only feasible plan for ending the insurrection. Forced to this decision, Napoleon gave Joseph clearly to understand that if he conquered Spain for the second time, it would be in his own interests: " there would be no question of beginning again with Philip the Fifth."

After overwhelming the Spanish army, the Emperor arrived before Madrid on the 2 December, and the city capitulated two days later. Napoleon immediately put into effect the constitution promulgated at Bayonne: the abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the provincial customhouses, and so on. Joseph was enraged, and wrote the Emperor on the 8 December: " My brow is covered with shame before my so-called subjects. I pray Your Majesty to receive my renunciation of all the rights that you have given me to the throne of Spain. I should always prefer honor and probity to power bought so dearly."

Instead of taking Joseph at his word, the Emperor once more weakly yielded, either because of the deference which he always showed to his eldest brother, or because, at the moment, he could see no better way out of his difficulties. He reinstated Joseph in his government, and gave him, with the title of lieutenant, the direct command of the corps of Victor and Lefebvre.

On the first day of January 1809, when he was in full pursuit of the English, Napoleon received near Astorga a courier from Paris, bringing the news of the continued armament of Austria, and of the intrigues of Talleyrand and Fouché. Turning the command over to Soult and Ney, he started for Paris, and reached the Tuileries on the 23 January.

In a month, Napoleon had reconquered all of the Northern provinces, vanquished and dispersed the regular Spanish forces, and driven the English out of the Peninsula. These results seemed immense, but in reality they amounted to nothing at all. The entire country was in insurrection, and the French held only the ground they occupied: elsewhere, the land was in flames. The mistake which Napoleon made in placing his brother on the throne was nothing in comparison with his action in suppressing the Inquisition, the convents, and feudal rights. The clergy and the grandees saw in his decrees even greater perils than in the change of dynasty. Their wrath fanned the popular flame, and the ignorant populace rose as one man to repel those who would have relieved them from oppression. Joseph appears to have comprehended the Spanish character better than Napoleon!

APPENDIX

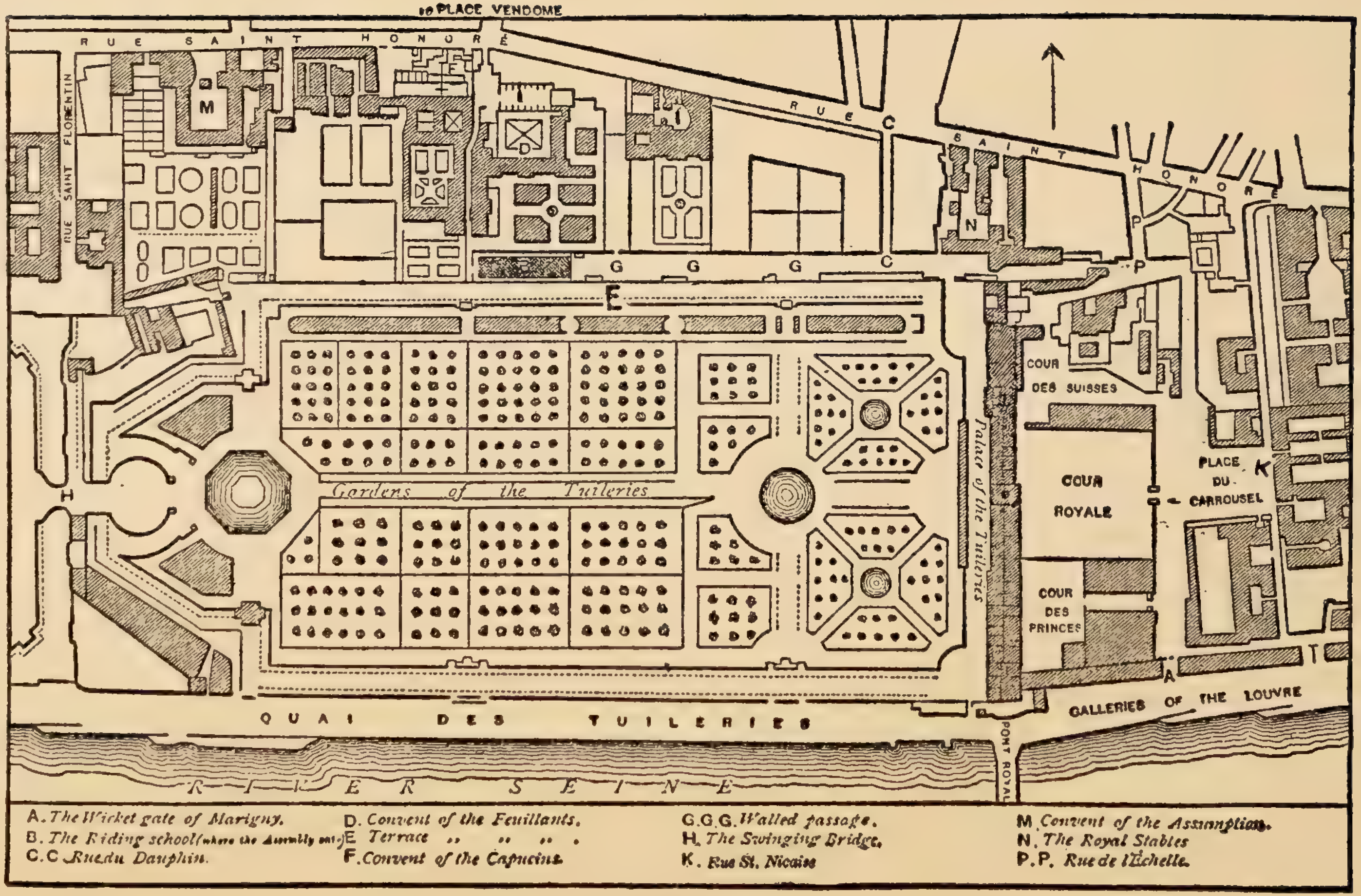
A “EPOCHS OF MY LIFE”

B THE TUILERIES

C MISS PATTERSON

CHRONOLOGY

BIBLIOGRAPHY



to PLACE VENDOME
RUE SAINT HONORÉ
RUE SAINT FLORENTIN
M
D
RUE C
SAINT HONORÉ
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G G G
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C
E
COUR DES SUISSES
COUR ROYALE
COUR DES PRINCES
PLACE DU CARROUSEL
K
A
T
H
Gardens of the Tuileries
Palace of the Tuileries
QUAI DES TUILERIES
GALLERIES OF THE LOUVRE
PONT ROYAL
RIVER SEINE

A. The Wicket gate of Marigny.
B. The Riding school (where the Assembly met.)
C. C Rue du Dauphin.
D. Convent of the Feuillants.
E Terrace " " " .
F. Convent of the Capucins.
G. G. G. Walled passage.
H. The Swinging Bridge.
K. Rue St. Nicaise
M. Convent of the Assumption.
N. The Royal Stables
P. P. Rue de l'Échelle.

THE TUILERIES

APPENDIX

A

"EPOCHS OF MY LIFE"[1]

Born in 1769 the 15th of the month of August.

Left for France the 15 December 1778.

Arrived at Autun 1 January 1779.

Left for Brienne 12 May 1779.

Left for the Paris School 30 October 1784.

Left for the Regiment of La Fère as second-lieutenant 30 October 1785.

Left Valence for vacation at Ajaccio 1786, 1 September.

I therefore arrived in my country 7 years 9 months after my departure, aged 17 years 1 month. I was officer at the age of 16 years 15 days.

Arrived the 15 September 1786, I left for Paris 12 September 1787, whence I again set out for Corsica, where I arrived the 1 January 1788, whence I left the 1 June for Auxonne.

B

THE TUILERIES

It is a curious, and almost inexplicable fact, that there is in existence to-day no plan of the Tuileries; and, now that the palace has been destroyed for more than half a century, it is most difficult to reconstitute it in such a way as to be plain to the reader.

During the days of the Bourbons, in the place of the high fence which we now see, along the present line of the Rue de Rivoli, there was a long, high wall, bordering the Terrace of the Feuillants (E). The space now occupied by the street was a narrow grassy alley, planted here and there with trees, and used mainly for exercising

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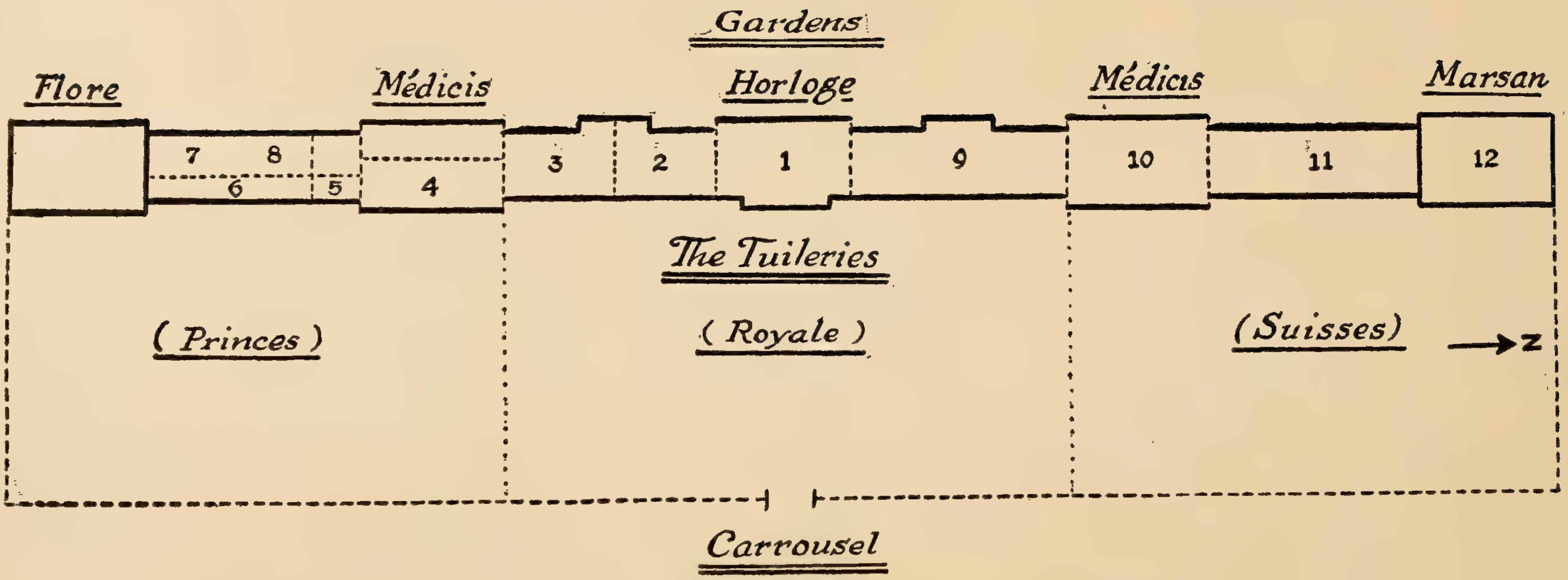
[1] From the *Libri Manuscripts* — Published in facsimile by Masson, *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse*, 16.


Gardens
Flore
Médicis
Horloge
Médicis
Marsan
7
8
6
5
4
3
2
1
9
10
11
12
The Tuileries
(Princes)
(Royale)
(Suisses)
→ N
Carrousel

1. Marshals
2. First Consul
3. Apollo
4. Throne
5. Louis XIV
6. Diana
7.
8. } Napoleon

NOTE — During the Empire the dividing walls of the three old courts were torn down, and the space thrown into one large court. At the same time, several buildings were removed.

The Tuileries were 69 ft. wide by 1075 ft. long.

9. Council of State
10. Chapel
11. Theatre
12. Grand Marshal

(From sketch by Author)
Scale 140 ft. = 1 in.

horses. This alley (G) terminated at the easterly end in a group of buildings called the Royal Stables (N), which had their entrance on the Rue Saint-Honoré, about opposite the Church of Saint-Roch. In the place of the present arcades along the Rue de Rivoli, there was an unbroken line of walls which enclosed the gardens of the hôtels on the Rue Saint-Honoré.

The space now comprised between the rues of the 29-Juillet and Saint-Florentin, was occupied by the vast gardens and large buildings of the convents of the Feuillants (D), the Capucins (F), and the Assomption (M), all having their entrances on the Rue Saint-Honoré, and separated only by their rear walls from the Terrace of the Feuillants.

On the side of the Place Louis-Quinze (de la Concorde), the Gardens of the Tuileries were rendered inaccessible by high terraces, and a moat crossed only by a turning-bridge (H). On the side of the river, the terrace was held up by a wall bordering the Seine as far as the Pavillon de Flore.

From the outside, therefore, little could be seen except the tops of the trees and the roof of the Château. The only entrances to the Gardens were by a narrow passage, along the line of the present Rue de Castiglione, and a small street, called the Rue du Dauphin (C), which opened from the Rue Saint-Honoré opposite the Church of Saint-Roch.

On the side of the Carrousel, there were three courts, separated by walls, and containing several buildings. During the Empire, these dividing walls were torn down, and the whole space thrown into one large court, where Napoleon held his reviews. The Place du Carrousel was filled with a mass of buildings of every kind — hôtels, barracks, and stables — which were not cleared away until the reign of Napoleon the Third.

The main entrance to the palace was on the side of the Carrousel, through the grand vestibule in the central pavilion. From this vestibule, the grand staircase ascended on the right, dividing at the first landing, on the level of the entresol, where was the entrance to the Chapel. Mounting to the first floor, one entered the large salon, which occupied the whole of the Pavillon de l'Horloge. Under the Bourbons, this was known as the Salon des Cent-Suisses, but later was called the Salon des Maréchaux, from the large full-length portraits of the marshals of the Empire. This room formed the communication between the two wings of the palace, that on the right (north) containing the Hall of the Council of State, the Chapel, the Salle de Spectacle, and, at the extreme end, in the Pavillon de Marsan, facing on the Rue de Rivoli, the suites of the Grand-Marshal (Duroc), and of foreign princes; in the left (south) wing, were the State apartments, and the private suites of the Emperor and the Empress.

The *Grands appartements* were: the salon of the First Consul, of Apollo, of the Throne, of Louis Quatorze (or the Emperor), and of Diana. The first two extended the width of the palace, and had windows both to the east and the west; the others faced only on the court.

Doubling the Galerie de Diane, which was 26 feet wide, by 129 feet long, were the private rooms of the Emperor: an anteroom, a reception room, a cabinet, a bedroom, and a bathroom, all having their windows on the Gardens. These rooms were reached by a private staircase from the corner of the court near the Pavillon de Flore. The Empress occupied a similar suite, below, on the ground-floor, also looking out on the Gardens.

Now that the Tuileries are destroyed, the best means of getting an idea of the private rooms is to visit the *Petits appartements* of Marie-Antoinette at Versailles. There, in those dark, narrow corridors, where two persons can hardly pass each other; in those steep, turning stairways, which it is necessary to light day and night; in those little rooms, so low that one's head almost touches the ceiling, you can form some idea of what the Tuileries were in the days of the first, and also of the third, Napoleon. (See Lenotre, *Paris Révolutionnaire,* 52–58; Masson, *Napoléon chez lui,* 46–48.)

C

MISS PATTERSON

After the birth of her son, Jerome-Napoleon, at Camberwell, 7 July 1805, Elizabeth remained in England until the month of October, when she returned to Baltimore. Jérôme sent her a thousand louis (about $4000.), and, later, robes and hats, but no more money. From Nantes, 21 November 1805, he wrote her at Baltimore, and continued to write her from time to time during the ensuing years.

In 1808, she sent Jérôme a portrait of their son, which he acknowledged in a letter under date of the 16 May. About the same time, he wrote Mr. Patterson that, with the approval of the Emperor, he had sent his secretary, M. Lecamus, to Baltimore, to bring his son over to him. But the French minister to the United States, General Turreau, was not advised of this mission, and a strange mix-up followed. The 30 July, Turreau wrote his Department that there was a project of marriage between Miss Patterson and the son of an English admiral, Sir Thomas Graves. On the 9 July, Lecamus had delivered to Mr. Patterson the letter of Jérôme demanding his son, and received a formal refusal. The same day, Elizabeth wrote a long and curious letter to Turreau, which it is impossible to understand; this letter, he joins to his despatch. She also asked for a confidential interview with the minister, at which she told him that there was no question of her marriage to young Graves, and that she "abandoned herself with the most entire submission to the French Government."

These communications reached the Emperor on the 18 November 1808 at Burgos, in Spain, and he wrote Champagny, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to reply that he would "receive her child with pleasure, and would take charge of him, if she wished to send him to France." He added that she could count on his esteem, and his desire to be agreeable to her: "all that she can desire shall be accorded her."

On the 22 November, Lecamus arrived at Cassel, bearing a letter to Jérôme from his son, in which the child said that he could not "break the heart of his mama by leaving her to come to Europe"; also a letter from Élisa (Elizabeth), telling of her approach to the Emperor. The same day, Jérôme wrote her a very long letter, in which he strongly opposed the idea of letting Napoleon have his son. "I would sooner lose both my States and my life," he said, "than to suffer my son to pass into other hands than my own." He begged Élisa to come to Westphalia, promising to give her a handsome residence at Smalkalden, about thirty leagues from Cassel, with the titles of prince and princesse for her son and herself, and an income of two hundred thousand francs.

On receiving this letter, Betsy remarked that, "Westphalia was not a kingdom large enough to contain two queens"; but, to Jérôme, she made no reply. She made a very different response, however, to the communication of the Emperor, which was given her verbally by Turreau on the 24 March 1809. She expressed her joy at the offer of the Emperor to receive her son, but said that, the boy was too young to be separated from her; she wished therefore to bring him to Europe, and would accept any domicile indicated by the Emperor, although, "if there were no objection, she would like to live in Paris."

She also demanded a name, a title, an appropriate station, and a suitable allowance. To show her submission, she signs herself *Élisa née Patterson,* and suppresses the *Bonaparte.*

At this time, it occurred to her that her son had not yet been baptized, and she had the ceremony performed by the Bishop of Baltimore, John Carroll, on the 9 May 1809. The child was described as, "Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, born the 7 July 1805, the legitimate son of Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson-Bonaparte, his wife."

Then she gave Turreau to understand that, constrained by her family, she was going to marry an Englishman, unless the Emperor came to her assistance. About the same time, Turreau heard from other sources that she was on the point of marrying a Mr. Oakley, secretary of the British Legation. On the 12 November, she presented herself *comme une folle* at the French Legation. Her family were pressing her to marry Oakley, she said; threatening to disinherit her if she did not, and she was about to yield. Turreau offered her a credit of $25,000, and again wrote his Government. On the 11 December, the Emperor replied through Champagny that Turreau was authorized to give her what money she needed, but that he would have nothing more to do with her if she married an Englishman. At the same time, to put a limit to the generosity of the minister, Champagny added: "It is unnecessary to give Miss Patterson more than an amount which will insure her a comfortable existence." This, however, was far from meeting the desires of Betsy, who aspired to nothing less than a duchy, with a corresponding income.

Emboldened by her first success, on the first of July 1810 she wrote the Emperor direct a most effusive letter, in which she demanded an assured position. Napoleon made no reply, but the French minister, at Washington, under the authority given him, notified Betsy that from the first of October she would receive the sum of one thousand dollars a month.

Becoming tired of Baltimore, Élisa passed the winter of 1811 at Washington, where she was the belle of the season. She called herself *Madame Bonaparte,* and was very friendly with the British minister.

During all this time, a period of four years, she had not written Jérôme, or given him any news of their son. Worried over her long silence, on the 20 February 1812 Jérôme wrote her to ask for news of herself and their son. She made no reply; but seems at this time to have resolved on another course of action. The last of November 1812, Sérurier, who had succeeded Turreau, read in the papers that she had petitioned the Maryland Legislature to grant her a divorce.

As soon as she received her decree, the 2 January 1813, she sent for Sérurier, who called on her about a week later, and expressed her desire to settle, either in Paris, or in one of the large cities of the Empire, and superintend the education of her son. This appeal to the Emperor had no effect. The Empire was tottering to its fall, and Napoleon had too many other cares to waste his time on Betsy Patterson. The receipts show that she remained in the United States, and that her pension was paid up to the 30 September 1814. In spite of her promises, and the decree of divorce granted at her request, she continued to use the name of Bonaparte; and, although the earlier receipts were signed *Élisa Patterson,* the last two bear the name of *Élisa Bonaparte.* These final payments were made by the Bourbon King, who thus, by a strange chance, acquitted the love-debts of Jérôme Bonaparte!

Leaving her son at a school in Maryland, Betsy sailed for London about the middle of the summer of 1815. Here she received " a most flattering reception from the best society," according to a letter written her father on the 22 August. " Napoleon has left for Saint Helena," she says in another letter, " but he has left behind him a reputation which adversity has not destroyed."

From London, she went to Paris, where she was also well received. On the 22 February 1816, she wrote her father: " The ex-King of Westphalia is living at present at the Court of Würtemberg. He has a large fortune, but is too mean to pay the expenses of his son."

During the summer of 1816, she returned home, and remained in Baltimore until 1819, when she sailed again for Europe, with her son. As the French Minister of Police would not visé her passport, she went by way of Germany to Geneva, where she lived for two years. After the death of Napoleon (1821), she tried to secure from Madame Mère and Pauline an independent fortune for her son.

The young Jerome was thoroughly American in his tastes, and was anxious to return home as soon as his education was finished. In 1829, he married a Miss Williams; and, except for a short trip to Europe in 1839, to collect a legacy from Cardinal Fesch, he did not visit Europe again until 1854. At that time, Napoleon the Third offered him a ducal title, which he refused. The Emperor wished to recognize him as the legitimate son of Jérôme, but the old King protested so warmly that the project was abandoned. However, a Family Council gave him the right to bear the name of Bonaparte, " under which he had always been known," but no other privileges.

After the death of his father, in 1860, he was defeated, in the French courts of law, in an action which he brought, to have his mother declared the legitimate wife, and himself the legitimate son, of King Jérôme.

He died at Baltimore the 17 June 1870, preceding by nine years his mother, who died the 4 April 1879, aged 94 years. He had two sons: Jerome Napoleon, born 5 November 1832; died 4 September 1893; and Charles Joseph, born 9 June 1851; died 28 June 1921. The latter had no children, but Jerome Napoleon left a son of the same name, born in 1878, who is married, but has no children. (See Biographical Notes.)

CHRONOLOGY

1746	Charles Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio, 29 March
1750	Letitia Ramolino, born at Ajaccio, 24 August
1763	Joséphine, born at Martinique, 23 June
1764	Charles and Letitia, married at Ajaccio, 2 June
1768	Joseph, born at Corte, 7 January
1769	Napoleon, born at Ajaccio, 15 August
1775	Lucien, born at Ajaccio, 21 May
1777	Élisa, born at Ajaccio, 3 January
1778	Louis, born at Ajaccio, 2 September
1780	Pauline, born at Ajaccio, 20 October
1782	Caroline, born at Ajaccio, 25 March
1783	Hortense, born at Paris, 10 April
1784	Jérôme, born at Ajaccio, 15 November
1785	Charles, died at Montpellier, 24 February
1791	Marie-Louise, born at Vienna, 12 December
1794	Lucien, married to Catherine Boyer, 4 May
	Joseph, married to Julie Clary, 1 August
1796	Napoleon, married to Joséphine, 9 March
1797	Élisa, married to Bacciochi, 1 May
	Pauline, married to Leclerc, 14 June
1800	Caroline, married to Murat, 20 January
1802	Louis, married to Hortense, 4 January
	Napoleon-Charles, born at Paris, 10 October
1803	Pauline, married to Borghèse, 28 August (?)
	Lucien, married to Mme. Jouberthou, 26 October
	Jérôme, married to Elizabeth Patterson, 24 December
1804	Napoleon-Louis, born at Paris, 11 October
1807	Napoleon-Charles, died at The Hague, 5 May
	Jérôme, married to Catherine of Würtemberg 22 August
1808	Louis-Napoleon, born at Paris, 20 April
1809	Joséphine divorced, 15 December
1810	Napoleon, married to Marie-Louise, 11 March (Vienna)
1811	King of Rome, born at Paris, 20 March
1814	Joséphine, died at Malmaison, 29 May
1820	Élisa, died near Trieste, 6 August
1821	Napoleon, died at Saint Helena, 5 May
1825	Pauline, died at Florence, 9 June
1831	Napoleon-Louis, died at Forli, 17 March
1832	Duke of Reichstadt (King of Rome), died at Vienna, 22 July

CHRONOLOGY

1836 Letitia, died at Rome, 2 February
1837 Hortense, died at Arenemberg, 5 October
1839 Caroline, died at Florence, 18 May
1840 Lucien, died at Viterbo, 30 June
1844 Joseph, died at Florence, 28 July
1846 Louis, died at Leghorn, 25 July
1847 Marie-Louise, died at Vienna, 18 December
1860 Jérôme, died near Paris, 24 June
1873 Napoleon III, died at Chislehurst, 9 January

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The principal sources for the study of the life of Napoleon up to the siege of Toulon are the so-called *Libri Manuscripts,* which are of the highest importance. After the Hundred Days, there was found in Napoleon's cabinet at the Tuileries a packet of papers, sealed with the Imperial arms, and inscribed, "À remettre au Cardinal Fesch seul." The packet was taken by Fesch to Rome, and was found after his death, 13 May 1839, among his papers, with the seals still intact. It was carried, with other papers, to Lyon by his vicar-general, Abbé Lyonnet, and the following year was opened by Prince Charles-Lucien, the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte, but he failed to realize the importance of the documents. They were finally purchased of Lyonnet for about £300 by William Libri, a well-known English collector, who eventually sold the manuscripts to Lord Ashburnham. When the Ashburnham collection was sold in 1884, the papers were acquired by the Italian Government, and were deposited in the Laurentian Library at Florence, where they are still to be seen.

In 1895, the papers were published by M. Frédéric Masson, in a volume entitled *Napoléon inconnu,* and later, in 1907, in a revised edition, called *Napoléon dans sa jeunesse.*

M. Arthur Chuquet, in a work entitled *La Jeunesse de Napoléon,* has consecrated three volumes to the life of Napoleon, from his birth to the siege of Toulon, based upon the writings of Coston and Jung, but above all on the documents published by Masson, which are indispensable to an understanding of the subject. These works furnish us with very complete information regarding Napoleon's earlier years.

For the period subsequent to Toulon, the principal source is the *Correspondance de l'empereur Napoléon Ier,* in thirty-two volumes, published at Paris, 1858–1870.

In September 1854, the Emperor Napoleon III appointed a Commission to publish the Correspondence of "his august predecessor Napoleon I, in so far as it relates to matters of public interest." Marshal Vaillant was President of the Commission, and one of its members was Comte de Flahaut, a former aide de camp of the Great Emperor.

Nine years later (November 1863), when twelve volumes had been published, the work was temporarily suspended by the Emperor, his object being " to try and expedite the work and to base the scheme of publication on new lines."

Flahaut was offered a place on the new Commission, but declined. His position is very frankly stated in a letter to the Emperor: " Instead of accepting with a sort of blind devotion every document which appeared to emanate from the Great Man, they should have published only such as might serve, were it possible, to enhance his renown; in other words, documents which he, if he could have been consulted in person, would have himself published."

In the Emperor's reply (3 December 1863) he says: " I stopped the publication of the Emperor's letters because I had perceived that letters had been published which would have been better suppressed."

A new Commission was appointed, of which Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor, was President, and the work was continued until interrupted by the fall of the Empire, in 1870, at which date thirty-two volumes had been published.

It has always been a question how much this Correspondence was " edited," and to what an extent important letters were deliberately suppressed by the Commissioners. Léon Lecestre, in his *Lettres inédites de Napoléon,* has pointed out that, while only 20,000 documents were printed, it is known that more than 60,000 were available for publication. On the other hand, M. Masson, who has carefully studied the subject, estimates that there are preserved, in the various Archives of France, more than 70,000 pieces, of which only about 25,000 have been published; he also states that, of these letters still unpublished, at least 2000 are of the highest importance. Many of them, however, have been printed by Haussonville, in *L'Église romaine et le Premier Empire;* by Vandal, in *Napoléon et Alexandre I^{er}*, and by other authors.

Nearly all of the memoirs of the times of the Revolution and the First Empire, so largely used by historians of the nineteenth century, were composed after the lapse of many years, and were colored by the changed views of the writers subsequent to the Restoration; therefore few are trustworthy. An amazing number of these memoirs, including those of Barras and Fouché, are not authentic. Even the memoirs of Abrantès, the Bonaparte brothers, Bourrienne, Rémusat, and Talleyrand are more or less open to suspicion.

For the "last phase" of the life of Napoleon, the years passed at Saint Helena, we have but few authorities: principally, O'Meara, Las Cases, Montholon, and Gourgaud. None of them is wholly reliable, and their veracity increases in proportion to the remoteness of their publications from the events to which they relate. Gourgaud (1898) is more trustworthy than Montholon (1847); and Montholon, in turn, is more reliable than Las Cases (1823). The one who is the least dependable of the four is O'Meara, who published in 1822.

Las Cases, by his journal, should have been able to give us a document of the highest value; but, in his final and revised edition, he has inserted so many apocryphal pieces that he has necessarily invalidated a large part of his evidence.

Gourgaud has furnished us with the most precious and the most essential information. He gives us a very correct, a very complete, and a very definite idea of the life at Longwood during the first two years of the captivity.

But, while Las Cases left the island in November 1816, Gourgaud departed in February 1818. There was then left, for a few days only, no one but O'Meara, and he inspires no confidence. He was a man susceptible of being bought; and his statements, unless corroborated by other evidences, are open to grave suspicion.

The work of Montholon has little or no value: it was published after the lapse of twenty years, and was edited, if not actually written, by a celebrated romancer (Dumas).

One striking fact remains to be noticed: we know scarcely anything of the last three years of Napoleon's life, from the departures of Gourgaud and O'Meara, in the winter of 1818, to the end in May 1821. In the final days of all, we are left mainly to Antommarchi, the young Corsican anatomist who arrived at Saint Helena eighteen months before Napoleon's death, and no one of the chroniclers is more unreliable. While he furnished us some useful indications regarding the health of the Emperor during his last days, the rest is pure invention, and not worthy of the slightest credence.

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